EAL, classroom interaction and narrative : reconstructing the distinction between everyday and academic discourse

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abstract

Current EAL[1] pedagogic models rely on quite restricted notions of language (as grammar) and don't give us sufficient sense of language-use, necessary to explicate a central motivation of the *mainstreaming* of EAL - the ways that language and learning are bound up together in a variety of ways. The task, then, is to supplement these EAL models, taking into account omitted aspects of language and context, in particular interpersonal meanings.

Using an oral reading event I show how an *ethnomethodological* approach can capture the close relationship between language-use and classroom learning, and the key distinction between academic and everyday discourse can be rethought so that it is the students and teacher themselves who create this boundary between discourses. Classrooms are sites in which academic discourse can be made different from everyday discourse. Learning and teaching reading involves managing these different discourses that are at times incommensurate.

Some EAL pedagogies use concepts of narrative. *Ethnopoetics* is a way of analysing narrative which can capture one aspect of students' "boundary making" (see above paragraph). Existing EAL models depend on *a priori* views on the relationship between speech and writing. Ethnopoetics is a way of reshaping written text to represent patterns of speech and meaning, and so speech, the "authentic expression of experience", is re-introduced into text. Ethnopoetics, then, can be of use in rethinking EAL.

In the light of recent moves in applied linguistics towards greater inclusiveness, my analysis may appear limited because of the rather restricted professional interests I look to. However, I show how an ethnomethodological approach to classroom language-use can draw attention to the complexity of relationships of power in EAL, what it means for students and teachers to be "in control" of learning and teaching. My analysis of classroom oral reading events can inform and possibly challenge current ideological perspectives on EAL.

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[1] EAL, English as an additional language, refers to the educational provision in primary and secondary schools for students who speak languages "additional to" English.

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introduction

This thesis is about EAL, the educational provision in English primary and secondary schools for students who speak English as an Additional Language. In particular it's about the theories and practices of EAL pedagogies.

EAL is a complex category. It's applied to students, pedagogic practices, whole and cross-school professional/organisational structures, theoretical frameworks, and educational policy. There is enormous difficulty of definition and description within each of these fields.

EAL students are not necessarily recent arrivals to the school system and country; they can be part of well established linguistic minority communities and may have been born in the UK. Students' knowledge of English varies as does their educational background. EAL teaching and learning are interwoven with the teaching and learning of the curriculum: EAL teachers mostly work in classrooms alongside the subject/main teacher, having a variety of roles and using a range of pedagogic approaches. EAL occupies a complex position institutionally and professionally, operating across educational and school structures. So, at a practical level, within everyday pedagogic practice, EAL raises many questions: Who are the students? What pedagogies are teachers to use? Can EAL be a subject? How does language learning relate to other forms of learning? How does EAL relate to other institutional and professional structures? The field of English EAL is also theoretically complex, drawing on several fields of study (for example, theories of learning, second language acquisition theory, linguistics, ethnography, and curriculum studies). Finally, there is complexity at a policy level: EAL is bound up with contestable language ideologies that extend beyond educational contexts. How EAL students are to be taught is a moral and political issue, framed by concerns about equality and justice.

As an EAL teacher I found that the above questions were omnipresent in my everyday practices. My personal experience as an EAL teacher was that it was always uncertain (and often contested) what and who I was teaching. The educational and pedagogic frameworks I used often seemed to have little purchase on classroom realities and students' perspectives on learning. My role was continuously made problematic by students, teachers, and school/educational structures. So, having spent some time as an EAL teacher living with the above questions, I am interested in how existing EAL pedagogic models can be developed. I'm interested in holding EAL models up against everyday classroom practices and asking: How do they help us see what's going on in classroom practice? What do everyday classroom practices make us think about EAL models? How can EAL models be changed? And what does change mean? In sum: I`m interested in the theory and practice of EAL pedagogies and their relationship.

This thesis starts out from (and rethinks) the work of Cummins who is concerned to do justice to, and relate, the above complexities: (1) Cummins aims to integrate quite

different levels of description, linking psycholinguistic descriptions of conditions for optimum second language acquisition with sociological descriptions of relationships between dominant and subordinate groups. (2) His work sets EAL pedagogy within wider educational policy contexts. (3) Cummins speaks to the everyday interests of EAL teachers and their concerns about how to teach.

I start in chapter 1 by situating Cummins' model within an English educational context. Cummins models a key distinction for EAL learners - between everyday and academic discourse - and places this within a broader educational and ideological context. In chapters 2 & 3 I argue that Cummins' model and Mohan's framework (sometimes treated as a supplement to Cummins' work) do not take account of interpersonal meanings. The challenge then is to supplement Cummins' model, and this sets the agenda for the following 3 chapters. In chapters 4-6 I reconstrue Cummins' model by looking closely at how particular reading episodes are performed in a primary school classroom. What I have to say about reading, although important in its own right, is part of a more general point about academic discourse and how it's conceived in existing EAL models. In chapter 4 I ask how Cummins' model affords descriptions of classroom reading events. I use the work of Goodman (drawn on by Cummins) to start to describe students' oral reading practices and I also give an account of what talk about text is doing. These accounts suggest that readers' textual interpretations are being subordinated and silenced. In chapter 5 I carry out an interactional analysis of these data and offer an alternative account which does justice to interpersonal meanings. In chapter 6 I situate these data within wider classroom reading practices. Teacher and students are orienting to different practices: reading as *apprehension* and reading as *comprehension*, and so a more subtle view of how subordination and contestation take place is possible: students are not just challenging a teacher's particular interpretation but his way of reading. These analyses have implications for EAL's conception of the academic-everyday discourse distinction and in chapter 7 I draw together some of the lessons learned in chapters 4-6. Chapters 8 & 9 are concerned with how narrative is used within EAL as a pedagogic concept and more widely as a way of deconstructing the academic-everyday discourse dichotomy. Chapter 8 is a survey and critique of educational uses of narrative which are relevant to EAL. I argue for a rethinking of the notion of narrative in education: narrative (i) breaks down boundaries, e.g. between speech and writing, (ii) is a family of discourses, and (iii) is necessarily related to personal experience. Chapter 9 explores how *ethnopoetics* - the representation in texts of the poetic shapes of talk - can be of use as an analytic approach which deconstructs the speech-writing distinction. I return in chapter 10 to consider some of the wider ideological contexts of EAL and how my own accounts of classroom reading events and texts can speak to these.

The data I use in this thesis were collected in 1998 from a year 5/6 class (9/10 year olds) in a London primary school. I'll use two kinds of data. In chapters 4-6 I'll

draw on audio and video recordings of *guided reading* sessions which took place in a *literacy hour*. Groups of students read a book together once a week with the teacher for about fifteen minutes: I'll focus on one reading event in particular but will draw on reading practices in other sessions and with other groups. The second kind of data are story texts written by students from the same class. I'll focus (in chapter 8) on two texts written by one student in order to explore the analytic potential of ethnopoetics. I'll have more to say about the setting, data collection, and methodology in chapter 3 (section 3.7).

1 EAL mainstreaming, language-learning reflexivity and the turn to language teaching

In the field of English EAL it is said that although lots of work has been done on organising professional relationships in the current practice of mainstreaming, EAL language pedagogy has been neglected. This point is framed in terms of the need for "language-content integration". However, a rationale for mainstreaming is that language and learning are bound up together, and so the question is: Where does the project of language-content integration leave this original rationale? Current EAL models rely on traditional grammar, and the accounts of classroom interaction they afford fail to capture the distinctiveness of classroom learning. The problem with these recent approaches to EAL is that (1) there is no notion of language-use, and (2) the locale of the classroom is invisible in their analyses. Cummins sets out to address these problems. He says that language proficiency is part of a social practice, and he characterises the classroom task of EAL students as learning to use academic language. The question then is: How successful is Cummins' model in addressing the problems in (1) and (2) above?

1.1 introduction

There is a widespread view in the field of English EAL education that a concern with language learning has been recently neglected, and the role of the EAL teacher as a language teaching specialist has been undermined (Mohan, Leung, and Davison, 2001, Bourne, 1992, Clegg, 1996, NALDIC, 1999). It is said that there has been a period of EAL laissez-faire during which *mainstreaming* has effectively marginalised EAL language pedagogy, theoretically and practically.

In this chapter I will argue that the proposed solutions to this problem of neglect are at odds with a key principle behind mainstreaming, and that the well known work of Cummins seems to provide a way forward. I will: (1) outline some of the main concepts and practices of mainstreaming, saying something about the reflexive relationship between language and learning that provides a key rationale; (2) identify some of the supposed problems with this approach, and turn to some current thinking in EAL about curriculum planning and pedagogy, pointing out that there is very little sense of language-learning reflexivity; (3) elaborate this point by using the work of Hymes and Cazden; (4) propose that we look at the work of Cummins as he seems to provide a model that can build on their work.

1.2 mainstreaming and the reflexive relationship between language and learning

Mainstreaming not only refers to the move away in the 1980s from separate provision for bilingual students in off-site language centres but to the prioritisation of an equal opportunities ideology (Levine, 1990, 30; Leung and Franson, 2001): EAL pedagogy became part of what aimed to be a more socially just approach to differences between students. Additional language learning was viewed as part of a spectrum of needs that were to be met through an attention to diversity:

> English as a second language learning has come to be perceived as part of a continuum of language development, not in itself a very different process from extending the repertoires of a first language across an increasingly differentiated range of domains. (Bourne, 1989, 64)

This shift in thinking was influenced by the Swann report, one of whose conclusions was that "the problem facing the educational system is not just how to educate the children of the ethnic minorities, but how to educate *all* children" (DES. 1985, 9-10). EAL pedagogy consisted in facilitating "active learning" activities in the classroom: e.g. pair work, drama activities, the use of talk in group work (Levine, 1990, 36). These kinds of activities were important because they brought about the "natural acquisition" of language and the "making of meaning" by individual learners (ibid., 36). At the level of classroom organisation it was often argued that EAL students' needs were best met through adapting the activities in which the whole class were involved so as to orient to EAL needs as one set of claims amongst others. A lot of attention was paid to setting up the right kind of professional relationships between class and support teachers (Bourne & McPake, 1991, 363).

One key rationale for mainstreaming was the increased attention paid within non-EAL contexts to the relationship between language and learning. It was seen that language was learned across, and bound up with, the whole curriculum (Barnes, Britton & Rosen, 1969; Marland, 1977). EAL, then, could become part of mainstream language pedagogy. The Bullock report is regarded in EAL as a significant expression of the rationale of mainstreaming (e.g. Edwards & Redfern, 1992, 29). One of its key theoretical principles is that learning involves a person bringing new knowledge into a dialogue with existing (or latent) knowledge through using language:

> It is a confusion of everyday thought that we tend to regard 'knowledge' as something that exists independently of someone who knows. 'What is known' must in fact be brought to life afresh within every 'knower' by his own efforts. To bring knowledge into being is a formulating process, and language is its ordinary means, whether in speaking or writing or the inner monologue of thought. Once it is understood that talking and writing are means to learning, those more obvious truths that we learn also from other people by listening and reading will take on a fuller meaning and fall into a proper perspective. (DES, 1975)

This view is a critical response to the notion of learning as a process of adding new knowledge to an existing body of knowledge. The argument is that the focus should be on the ways teachers and learners make connections through language between old and new knowledge: *there is a reflexive relationship between language and learning.* I'll give an example (from Barnes, 1976, 52 & 86) to show what this means.

Students are asked to discuss in groups the question "What would a Saxon family first do when they approached the shores in order to settle". They have already studied the physical geography of England at that time and have in front of them more information about this. The task is "to construct in imagination the conditions under which a settlement would have been made" (ibid., 53), and the learning that takes place depends on understanding this task. Barnes contrasts a conversation between students in which they tentatively ask and answer their own questions, e.g. "the Saxons used timber didn't they, to build houses?" (ibid., 54), with a conversation in which students take turns to offer their various plans, e.g. "I'd find a place to make camp and cut trees down" (ibid., 61). In the case of the former conversation, existing knowledge is being used and rearticulated:

> 'Re-articulating' here does not just mean 'putting into words'; the ideas which are mentioned - wooden houses, clearing timber, living in valleys - are being interrelated and given new meanings in relation to the question of where the Saxons would site the village. This kind of interpretation is an essential part of learning. (Barnes, 1976, 54)

In the case of the latter conversation:

> They are not using language to explore the Saxon's situation, to shape what they know and relate it to the task - which is, as we have seen, a slow and complicated process. In a sense they are not talking to one another at all, and are certainly not collaborating in shaping new meanings. (ibid., 62)

Barnes' point is that learning consists in the talk that allows the students to see forests as a problem for the task of planning a settlement. For the teacher to shape the talk so that this problem can be seen is not straightforward. Learning occurs when the teacher and students are able to make a set of historical connections, both verbal and cognitive, between the nature of the physical environment and the creation of a settlement. The learning about the physical constraints on Saxon settlement takes place over the course of a discussion that involves exploratory questions and tentative answers. More generally, learning about a problem involves making various connections in a discussion - being able to provide various candidate solutions in response to certain descriptions of the problem.

What does this point about language-learning reflexivity look like in an EAL context? EAL students are not just learning language but learning through language - for example, to be a certain kind of reader of a certain kind of text, or an answerer of a particular kind of question. EAL students are not just happening to be learning language

and learning the curriculum at the same time but learning the language, say, of a specific discipline. The close relationship between language and learning is not about economising effort - using the curriculum as a means to develop something else, language - but about recognising that EAL students in learning the curriculum are learning to use language in particular ways.

This has been a preliminary sketch, and obviously begs a lot of questions (for example, about what is to count as making a verbal connection). At the end of this chapter I'll say some more about what language-learning reflexivity can mean for EAL, and I'll be returning to this theme throughout the thesis.

I'll now consider some apparent problems with the practice of mainsteaming, and responses to these problems.

1.3 the turn to language teaching and learning

It is now being argued in the field of English EAL that there has been insufficient attention paid to the teaching and learning of language. This problem is commonly seen in terms of the relationship between language and the curriculum, or *language* and *content*. In everyday practice EAL teaching has to fit in to the curriculum, and so language gets taught, if it is taught at all, in an *ad hoc* way: there is a lack of a "systematic and principled approach to language-content integration" (Leung & Franson, 2001, 174). The challenge, then, becomes to work out how language and content can be integrated in a number of different educational practices. Curriculum development, the way language and content aims are related and sequenced (Davison, 2001, and Snow, Met & Genesee, 1992), and teaching methodology, the way content and language can be integrated at the level of classroom activities (Swain, 2001 & Leung, 2001), are seen as especially problematic for EAL. EAL needs to be "fine tuned": schools need to look "ever more closely at the language and conceptual demands (and) interactions ... of the classroom, adjusting ... practice to (these) findings. (Bourne, 1997, 86).

In this section I will take two exemplifications of the "turn to language teaching" in EAL, asking the question: *Is this recent turn to language compatible with the key rationale of mainstreaming, language-learning reflexivity?* Firstly I'll look at a model for integrating language and content curricula, and then in a little more detail at the current interest in integrating language and content at the level of *tasks*. I'll then address the above question.

1.3.1 planning language-content integration

According to Snow, Met and Genesee's (1992) model of language-content integration[1], language learning objectives at the level of lesson planning are to be generated by using (1) the EAL curriculum, (2) the content-area curriculum and (3) an assessment of the students' language skills and academic needs. These objectives may be lexical - for example "rise", "pull", "force" for a science lesson - or grammatical, for example, how to use the past tense for a geography lesson[2]. EAL teachers and content teachers are to plan together to supplement and modify content lessons to explicitly teach language. In practice this may give rise to team-taught content classes or supplementary "adjunct lessons".

This model views language and content learning and teaching as in principle separable. The EAL curriculum consists of a grammatical and lexical syllabus, so the language learning aims would look similar to those of a non-content based EAL programme which focused purely on teaching language form. Indeed this prioritisation of the teaching of grammar has meant that there is discussion now about grammar problematically getting omitted in language-content programmes (Brinton & Holton, 2001).

If integration of language and content does not bring about a new model of language, what does integration mean? Integration appears mostly to be a concern with achieving efficiently what are seen as two quite distinct objectives - learning language and learning content. The discrete learning objectives are to be achieved by placing language learning activities alongside or within other kinds of learning activities, and for this to happen there has to be negotiation between language and content teachers. This raises organisational problems of integrating language and content over time, as the language curriculum tends to have to fit the content curriculum in an *ad hoc* way (Davison, 2001).

1.3.2 task based language learning

What does this integration of language and content look like at the level of particular learning events in the classroom? To answer this question EAL educationalists (Leung, 1997 & 2001, Mohan, 1991, Cameron & Bygate, 1997, Clegg, 1996, 17, Godfrey & Skinner, 1997) have turned to the notion of classroom *task*, which

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[1] I am referring to this model as it is relatively detailed and influential. There has been some recent work in developing pedagogical frameworks in an English EAL educational context that relate the learning of language and content, see Cooke & Pike, 2000, Clegg. 1996.

[2] Snow et al also refer to functional language, e.g. giving information and persuading, but they do not exemplify this, and so we cannot really see a different notion of language here.

is closely related to the practice of *task based language teaching* (TBLT) (Long & Crookes, 1992). TBLT is more concerned with the language learning *process* within the classroom than with language r*ules*, the central concern of the previous traditional practice of teaching grammar. There is an interest in how to design classroom language learning tasks that can make this process more effective.

TBLT draws on theories of second language acquisition (SLA) (Candlin, 1987 & Nunan, 1991): interactions within tasks are audited for their activation of psycholinguistic mechanisms which enable second language acquisition. Tasks facilitate *learner output*, enabling the learner to notice, reflect upon, and try out language forms (Swain, 1995). A task can be more or less effective at bringing about *negotiation*, the ways open to a learner to modify the talk of others, e.g. to ask for clarification or explanation when an utterance is not fully understood (Long, 1983). Long and Cookes sum up these points:

> tasks provide a vehicle *(1)* for the presentation of appropriate language samples to learners - input which they will inevitably reshape via application of general cognitive processing capacities - and *(2)* for the delivery of comprehension and production opportunities of negotiable difficulty. (Long & Crookes, 1992, 43)

The above views on classroom interaction are applied in an EAL context when the point is made that merely surrounding an EAL student with classroom talk does not necessarily lead to language learning. A fairly critical picture is given of classrooms that do not engender language acquisition: there is often a lot of talk by the teacher directed at the whole class which is hard to understand for EAL students, and student participation is restricted to very short answers (Leung, 1993, Harklau, 1994). The kind of talk that SLA has identified as the ideal method for language acquisition - the sort of conversation in which students have an opportunity to speak at length and check meaning, and the teacher adjusts his/her own talk to student levels of competence - is often not present in classrooms (Leung, 2001, 181). There is often a conflict between language and content learning objectives.

In the context of whole-class teaching and learning, Swain finds that history lessons use a variety of tenses to talk about the past (1996). For example a teacher says:

> What do you think? How *did* these plantations *influence* life in the Antilles? How do you think that these plantations ... *are going* ... uhm to *change* ... life in the Antilles? (ibid., 533)

In this instance the input of past tenses is lacking and so Swain argues that additional activities need to be devised to supplement the content lesson and teach past tenses.

Cameron, Moon, and Bygate (1996) discuss a group-work event in which children are asked to produce some news headlines for a video news bulletin:

G1 I'll do the weather and she could do the headlines ...
everyone write your name
Samia you're doing headlines
G2 what do I have to do?
G1 Rubia will tell you
...
G1 Rubia er what you doing again? main news ... I'm doing
G2 can I have another?
G1 Samia you're doing the headlines ... Rubia tell her how to spell headlines ... and I'm doing the ... weather ... am I doing the weather?

Here's what they say about this:

> working on tasks in groups with other learners produces specific language demands related to organisation and task. It seems that such group work can easily lead to the production of fluent but simple language, unless there is interaction with a teachers or a structure to the task which can act to increase the complexity of ideas being dealt with through language. In the example, we can see collaborative group work turning into the issuing of a series of directives by the most confident member of the group. However, it is not clear without further data whether this is due to problems in producing the language necessary to hypothesise or make suggestions, or of the pressure of the group to produce results. (ibid., 231)

Again, we have a picture of the classroom affording an inadequate, impoverished kind of language that will not aid language acquisition.

1.3.3 Is language-content integration compatible with language-learning reflexivity?

This interest in language-content integration at the level of curriculum planning and task is meant to extend the notion of mainstreaming and its underlying rationale of the reflexivity of language and learning, to which I'll now return.

Mention is sometimes made in the EAL literature, as part of the EAL rationale for language-content integration and for taking a task based approach, that there is a difference between "all round language proficiency" and competence in classroom language (e.g. Cameron & Bygate, 1997, 41), and that language use varies across the curriculum (e.g. Leung, 2001, 186). However, it is hard to see these points exemplified in the discussions of examples. The model of language that is directly called upon in these examples is of a lexicogrammatical system of rules. The notion of task serves as a way of focusing on general language acquisition, rather than a way of understanding language-use. Classroom tasks are operating as "templates" (Leung, 2001, 185), an efficient way of dividing up a syllabus for the application of the same model of language that is applied at the level of general lesson planning. A key rationale for language-content integration, and for using the notion of task - that classroom language use is distinctive and varied - is neglected in these models of language and pedagogy.

The other side of the coin is learning. I'll return to Cameron et al's group work example above. In claiming that complex thinking gets inhibited by the way one confident group member issues directives, Cameron et al are rushing their analysis. The way directives are used, and what being confident here means, should provide the material for an analysis rather than its conclusion. The event is more complex than is represented. Although it is hard to know what is going on in this particular fragment - Cameron et al admit that discussion of the data can only be tentative (Cameron, Moon & Bygate, 1996, 224) - we can perhaps begin to see what we need to do to know more about its complexity. At least one important avenue of analysis would be to look at how directives work as ways the students organise themselves. For example, G1 tells G2 that a third member will tell her what to do. Rather than directives being supplied by one confident member to compliant followers, confidence - and indeed language learning - is distributed. We do not have data about how this interaction between G2 and the third party works, but it needn't necessarily involve the issuing of more directives. Also, G1 not only directs and delegates, but also asks questions to check that she is doing the right task and to remind herself what others are doing. A lot of learning through language is going on here: asking questions, being unsure about and clarifying how work is distributed, getting others to take responsibility. Cameron et al make the mistake of thinking that the presence of a series of directives from one participant *necessarily* simplifies the collaboration and thereby limits learning.

In sum, *in this language-content integration approach Cameron et al are not in a position to judge when students use language to learn, or learn through language.* Language and learning are conceived of separately. Language seems to amount to grammar and lexis. Learning seems to be reduced to the acquisition of knowledge (defined by the official curriculum) or to the rather intuitive and vague notion of complex thinking.

Although the turn to language teaching and learning within a mainstreaming framework is understandable, the notion of language-content integration assumes a theoretical decoupling of language and learning. Language-content integration seems to take us away from the principles of mainstreaming. We need to go back to re-explicate the notion of language-learning reflexivity, to look at this rationale of mainstreaming again. Cazden and Hymes provide some analytic tools for getting at what the language-learning relationship might look like empirically, and I'll now turn to some of their ideas.

1.4 Hymes and Cazden: language-use and classroom learning

The above descriptions of language-content integration do not give an adequate account of language-use in classroom settings. In this section I will use the work of Hymes and Cazden to say more about what this could look like, i.e. what kind of

empirical features of classrooms become important, looking first at Hymes' distinction between language and language-use, and then at Cazden's views on the distinctiveness of classroom learning.

1.4.1 language-use and ways-of-speaking

What becomes important when we turn from a concern with language to language-use? Hymes (1972) identifies three changes in priority.

Firstly, in studying the way language is used, attention is paid to the perspectives of language users rather than analysts. We can then "speak to their condition" (Hymes, 1972, xiv). Studying the way students and teacher use language is not an application of pre-formulated linguistic theory but a development of theory: we are interested in the ways people develop their own theories of language (ibid., xviii).

Secondly, the concept of language as a grammatical and lexical system doesn't capture the ways people use language within *speech acts* to transform, challenge and consolidate social relationships. Classrooms are sites in which students and teachers are defining and redefining where they stand in relation to one another, and language, in an expanded sense - e.g. language as intonation and gesture - is their means for doing this. For example, a teacher's question that is responded to with silence does not just tell the teacher and other participants about the state of knowledge of the student, but about his/her relationship to the questioner. For some participants, this involves respect; for others, shyness, laziness or resistance, which brings us to the last point.

Students bring *ways-of-speaking* to the classroom. A way-of-speaking consists of meanings, language (broadly understood), and contexts, and so cannot be understood apart from making sense of the social behaviour of a person, group, or community (ibid., xxxiv). Problems arise when students' ways-of-speaking are not understood by teachers, and teachers expect students to have ways-of-speaking which they lack. Classrooms are often sites for misunderstandings between students and teachers, and conflicts and negotiations between ways of using language. This is missed if we just look at language as a grammatical and lexical system.

1.4.2 language-use in classrooms

What does the above mean for classroom learning? Cazden's discussion of classroom language, drawing on sociocultural theories of learning (e.g. Wertsch, 1985) and ethnographic studies of classroom interaction (e.g. Erickson, 1982), is an exemplification of Hymes' general views on language-use.

Cazden starts from Hymes' point about the classroom containing different ways-of-speaking - students' and teacher's - and addresses more directly their relationship. Teachers often introduce new ways-of-speaking, reconceptualising

phenomena that are spoken about in other ways by students (Cazden, 1988). For example, a student brings a rock to a show-and-tell session. He says how he got it and tells a story about this. The teacher asks others to describe it and introduces some scientific words, so moving students away from their more anecdotal talk (Wertsch, 1991, 113). In this example the two ways-of-speaking exist side by side, and the teacher does not relate her science to the students' story. But ways-of-speaking, not just objects, can be appropriated by the teacher and students. For example, Cazden cites Griffin and Mehan's (1981) example from a reading lesson:

> T (*Writes "tree" on paper attached to board)* If you know what the word says, put up your hand ...
> A Tab.
> T It does start with a "t." (Griffin & Mehan in Cazden, 1988, 112)

Griffin and Mehan say about this:

> (The teacher's response) exemplifies a way of teaching called phonics ... By specifying, in fact by reifying, one of the possible interpretations of an utterance by a pupil, a teacher cooperates in the construction of that utterance as a learning of (or partial learning of, or steps towards learning) what is supposed to be learned. (ibid.)

A's answer of "Tab" is ambiguous. For the student this answer may not have been aimed at telling the teacher that the word started with a "t". He may have been saying a word that just came to mind. The teacher however - in appropriating the students' answer into her own teaching project, recognising the ways words start etc. - may be appropriating the goal of the activity and the students' way of speaking, and so turns a guessing game into a phonics exercise. (Whether the student appropriates phonics is another question of course.)

Appropriation may be contested by students: Cazden's use of the Bakhtinian notion of *heteroglossia* elaborates Hymes' view of classrooms as problematic places, sites of struggle between ways of speaking (Cazden, 1993, 202). The notion of *heteroglossia* captures the way a writer or speaker doesn't just choose words to express a personal meaning, but inevitably confronts a "multitude of routes, roads, and paths that have been laid down in the object (any referent or topic) by social consciousness" (Bakhtin, 1981, 278).

Classroom learning may not just involve the replacement of one way of speaking with another, but also the reflection on, or the challenging of, this process. Ways of speaking are often in a state of dynamic tension. Classroom learning can involve managing this tension between academic ways of speaking and the commitments one brings to the classroom. For example, students manoeuvre between keeping face with their peers and performing for the teacher, and this often involves speaking in ways that respond to both demands at the same time.

The questions then arise: How can we more precisely think about the various relationships between ways-of-speaking that are brought to the classroom and those that are to be learned? What are the practical implications of these different ways of thinking about this relationship? I will be returning to these questions later (in sections 3.6, 6.5 and 7.2.3.3).

1.5 Cummins' model

In this chapter so far I have argued that current approaches to EAL language pedagogy are at odds with a central principle of mainstreaming, and I have outlined a version of language-learning reflexivity using Hymes' notion of ways-of-speaking and Cazden's approach to learning as appropriation and contestation of ways-of-speaking.

Cummins provides a very influential model of language and pedagogy for EAL educationalists. This model aims to link wider issues such as language planning and social justice with EAL pedagogy, and is therefore in tune with the recent turn to language learning and teaching in EAL. At the same time Cummins seems to orient his framework to the perspectives of Hymes and Cazden, and I'll now look at what he says about this before looking more closely at the model itself in the next chapter.

In a recent formulation of his position Cummins gives an account of his notion of *academic language proficiency* that uses similar terms to Hymes' account of language use:

> language learning and cognitive functioning can be conceptualised only in relation to particular contexts of use. Just as sociocultural or Vygotskian approaches to literacy emphasise that 'literacy is always socially and culturally situated' and cannot be regarded as content-free or context-free, language proficiency and cognitive functioning are similarly embedded in particular contexts of use or discourses which are defined by Perez as 'the ways in which communicative systems are organised within social practices.' ... Thus, the social practice of schooling entails certain 'rules of the game' with respect to how communication and language use is typically organized within that context. In short, in the present context the construct of *academic language proficiency* refers not to any absolute notion of expertise in using language but to the degree to which an individual has access to and expertise in understanding and using the specific kind of language that is employed in educational contexts and is required to complete academic tasks. ... this perspective is consistent with an interactionist perspective on language ability 'as the capacity for language use' (Bachman & Cohen, 1998, 18). Current theoretical approaches to the construct of language proficiency have shifted from viewing proficiency as a trait that individuals possess in varying degrees to seeing it as inseparable from the contexts in which it will be manifested. (Cummins, 2000, 66-67)

For Cummins, as for Hymes and Cazden, this view of language is related to an approach to learning in the classroom. Cummins' key concepts of conversational and academic language proficiency are situated in a classroom context:

> the framework, and the associated conversational/academic language proficiency distinction, focuses only on the sociocultural context of schooling. (ibid.)

What does this mean more precisely? Cummins refers to the work of Gibbons:

> children's current understandings of a curriculum topic, and their use of familiar 'everyday' language to express these understandings, should be seen as the basis for the development of the unfamiliar registers of school. (Gibbons, 1998, 99, cited in Cummins, 2000, 71)

In giving an example of this development, Cummins, using Gibbons' data from science group work, says:

> The teacher guided their reporting back and extended their linguistic resources by introducing more formal precise vocabulary to express the phenomena ... In responding to students' reporting back, the teacher will 'use new wordings and ways of meaning - a new register.' (Cummins, 2000, 71)

Relevant classroom data then become those occasions when there is a *recasting* (Gibbons, 1998) of students' everyday talk. Gibbons identifies as exemplary the way a teacher recasts pupils' deictic commentaries during science activities into scientific explanations.[3] These are approaches similar to Cazden's - the key classroom activity for EAL involves the teacher using "new wordings" to appropriate students' everyday language-use. For Cummins the classroom should be a site for the making of this kind of connection between academic and everyday discourse.

1.6 conclusion

Although Cummins makes a case for his model being congruent with Hymes' and Cazden's work by claiming to place language within social practice, and relating academic to everyday language-use, we have not yet seen if this is indeed the case. The question remains: *Can Cummins' model help us to understand in an EAL context how language is used in classroom learning? Or in other words, returning to the original concern of this chapter: Can Cummins' model of language and pedagogy take into account the language-learning reflexivity that mainstreaming is partly based upon?* The following chapter will address these questions.

I will look at Cummins' distinction between academic and conversational language-use, and its implication for our understanding of particular classroom events. I will be arguing that there are theoretical shortcomings in the concepts of language and context that this distinction draw upon. And I will relate these theoretical limitations to pedagogic models that depend upon them, arguing that the models do not afford descriptions of classroom discourse as varied and problematic (see section 1.4.2 above). I'll want to learn something from these limitations so that I can eventually go on to analyse classroom language learning in ways that are sensitive to these neglected aspects of classroom language-use.

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[3] Leung, in explicating Cummins' work, uses the notion of *scaffolding* in a similar way (1997): students are allowed to talk or write collaboratively about a topic, and then the teacher scaffolds the task by providing language "models", the student incorporating this new language into his/her final performance. A similar concept is O'Connor's & Michaels' (1996) notion of *revoicing*.

2 Cummins and the BICS-CALP distinction

I show how Cummins' concepts of academic and conversational language proficiency depend upon the notions of context as a material and mental adjunct to language, and text as an "objectification" of language. I outline his pedagogic model of how academic language-use is related to conversational language-use. I show how the model is located in a very specific educational context and so can be defended against a lot of the criticisms made against it. However, I then provide an example that shows the limitation of Cummins' descriptions of academic language learning, making reference to the notion of language-learning reflexivity discussed in chapter one. I link limitations of the academic-conversational language-use distinction to Cummins' views on context and text, and take a preliminary look at what is needed from a notion of context that can model with greater sensitivity the learning of academic discourse[1] *in the classroom.*

2.1 introduction

In this and the next chapter I'll identify the limitations of the models of Cummins and Mohan, whose work is very influential in the field of English EAL[2]. I will be especially interested in their relationship: Mohan's framework can be regarded as a way of addressing some of the problems in Cummins' model. The argumentative structure of the next two chapters is as follows:

In this chapter I start by outlining the way elements of Cummins' model are interdependent (section 2.2). His account of the teaching of academic discourse is to be understood alongside the central and, I will argue, problematic opposition between context as a material and mental resource for the understanding of language, and text as objectified language. My strategy is to link problems in providing sensitive descriptions of classroom learning with the more theoretical limitations of the concepts of text and context. Looking back to the notion of language-learning reflexivity introduced in chapter 1 (section 1.4), I show how Cummins' model is limited as an account of language learning. I then focus on Cummins' notion of text and context (section 2.6). and start to discuss how this needs to be reformulated.

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[1] I use the term "discourse" as a synonym for "language-use".

[2] Some materials writers and educationalists have used Cummins' academic-social distinction and Mohan's practical-theoretical distinction to directly structure pedagogic and assessment models, and to provide a language for describing classroom events (Cook, 1998, Brent Language Service, 1999, Cline & Frederickson, 1996). Other pedagogic models that have been used are in their turn informed by these theories, especially those of Cummins (Chamot & O'Malley, 1992 and Snow, Met & Genesse, 1992). Other more eclectic guides for EAL teachers (Gibbons, 1991, Gravelle 1996, and McWilliam, 1998) also use Cummins' distinction between academic and social language in their rationales for effective classroom activities.

Using a similar strategy in the next chapter, I draw attention to some limitations of Mohan's *practice-theory* opposition. Although it is an effective critique of Cummins' notion of context, I'll argue that Mohan's theory has its own problems as it also does not take account of *interpersonal* meanings in classroom language learning. I finally show how different aspects of context are simultaneously involved in classroom language-use, and I set an agenda for a different approach to describing classroom language learning.

2.2 Cummins' model

I will outline the main elements of the model: (1) the distinction between conversational language proficiency, or *Basic Interpersonal and Communicative Skills (BICS*), and academic language proficiency, or *Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency* (*CALP*); and (2) the way this distinction operates within a picture of academic language learning. I'll also show how these elements are closely related to one another.

2.2.1 BICS-CALP and the text-context distinction

In this section I'll draw attention to three main motivations of the BICS-CALP distinction: (1) It shows that EAL students' academic performances are language-related; (2) It provides a developmental picture of language proficiency - academic language is learned more slowly because it is context-reduced and thus requires more "processing"; (3) The model has educational relevance, showing how students can be supported in their CALP development.

Cummins' notions of CALP and BICS are "theoretical constructs": "Any theoretical construct, such as CALP ... does not exist 'in reality' but rather is constructed to address particular issues in a limited set of contexts (e.g. schooling)" (2000, 122). One of the main issues for Cummins is the academic underperformance of minority language students in school settings: language minority students are wrongly viewed as fully proficient in academic language because they are able to take part in "everyday conversations", and so their academic failures are not seen as related to gaps in their academic language proficiency, as they should be.

Cummins draws on a range of empirical findings (Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978, Verhoeven, 1991) to show how this under-performance is language related. After about a year and a half EAL students achieve parity with their monolingual peers in tests that measure fluency and pronunciation, but it takes much longer to achieve parity in tests on complex grammar, vocabulary, and literacy related skills (Cummins, 1981, 132, 1984b, 133, and 1996, 67).

It is important to realise that BICS does not refer to *all* talk, but to the "superficial" aspect of talk that can deceive teachers who are making academic assessments. Cummins claims that a particular set of bilingual children's test

performances, used by educational psychologists as evidence of cognitive deficits, should be reinterpreted: bilingual children were performing as they did because of their different academic language proficiencies (1981, 133). Teachers and psychologists are often misled by a "linguistic facade". Assessors wrongly believe that bilingual children have caught up with their monolingual peers in all their language skills when in fact they are only exhibiting a type of conversational proficiency that is easily acquired before the development of academic language proficiency: "In everyday situations there is little apparent difference between academically gifted and less bright children in terms of oral fluency, phonology or command of basic grammatical structures" (ibid.). The "linguistic facade" of BICS hides large gaps in students' acquisition of CALP.

Cummins' framework does not just serve to make the point that the differences in academic performances are language related. It also "attempts to address the sources of variation in the performance of language tasks ... in a way that explicitly takes into account psychological and developmental relationships among components of proficiency" (2000, 125). How can this be done? To begin to address this question we need to understand how Cummins sees the relationship between language and context. Cummins adopts Olson's notions of *text* and *context* (Cummins & Swain, 1986, 152, and Cummins, 2000, 63), and so I'll turn directly to Olson's work.

For Olson individual learning consists in a move from "what makes us human" - speech - to "what makes us civilised" - writing (1977, 257). Speech, *utterance*, and writing, *text*, are seen as involving different ways of making meaning. In an utterance meaning is located within face-to-face extra-linguistic contexts. Context is understood as non-linguistic: it surrounds language and can give it meaning from outside. In context-embedded speech participants have a more direct route to meaning; language is transparent. In context-reduced text participants must derive meaning from the internal relationships within language itself; language is explicit and meaning is literal.

Olson has more recently used the notion of *objectification* to frame this distinction between text and context (1991 & 1994). The central principle is not so much that writing frees language from context, but rather that writing objectifies language (1994, xviii). Writing allows us to become aware of language as a distinctive kind of thing, e.g. made up of words. Also, writing elaborates on such metalinguistic devices as reported speech:

> just as language is a device for 'fixing' the world in such a way as to make it an object of reflection, so writing 'fixes' language in such a way as to make it an object of reflection. This 'objectification' of language through writing adds to the already existing set of devices for turning speech into an object of discourse that exists in such oral metalinguistic concepts as tell, say, ask, lie, swear ... (Olson, 1991)

The above distinction between text and context informs Cummins' developmental framework. EAL students quickly learn to talk - they acquire BICS - as this involves understanding speakers' intentions from an attention to a non-linguistic

context, easily accessible to all learners. EAL students then have to learn in school to move towards an understanding of objectified language, CALP. This is a longer and more demanding process:

> conversational abilities ... often develop quickly among English language learners because these forms of communication are supported by interpersonal and contextual cues and make relatively few cognitive demands on the individual. Mastery of the academic functions of language ... , on the other hand, is a more formidable task because such uses require high levels of cognitive involvement and are only minimally supported by contextual or interpersonal cues. (Cummins, 1996, 58)

This developmental perspective depends on a conception of cognition that is addressed more directly through Cummins' later development of the theory which involves differentiating, but not disposing of, the concepts of BICS and CALP. Cummins separates the concept of cognition from that of context.

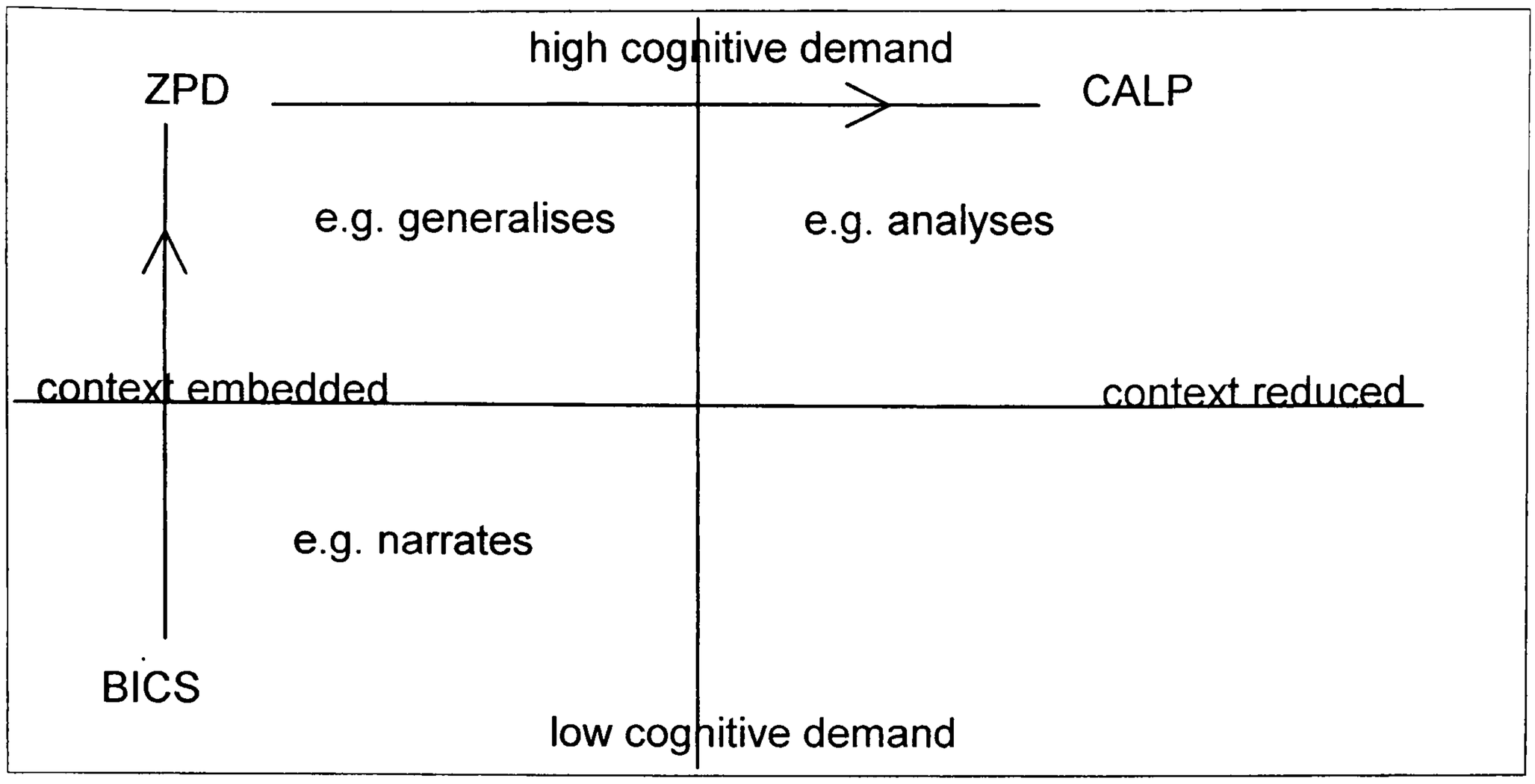
Cognitive involvement is defined in terms of an individual's "information processing" activity: "Cognitive involvement can be conceptualised in terms of the amount of information that must be processed simultaneously or in close succession by the individual to carry out the activity" (Cummins & Swain, 1986, 154). Cognition for Cummins seems to be about mental effort: the harder we have to work on producing or processing a linguistic object, the more cognitively demanding it is.

Context for Cummins seems to be a "shared reality": "context-embedded communication derives from interpersonal involvement in a shared reality which obviates the need for explicit linguistic elaboration of the message" (1986, 153). This reality is not only material, "external", but also "internal":

> contextual support involves both internal and external dimensions. Internal factors are attributes of the individual that make a task more familiar or easier in some respect (e.g. prior experience, motivation, cultural relevance, interests etc.). External factors refer to aspects of the input that facilitate or impede comprehension; for example language input that is spoken clearly." (2000, 72)

The distinction between BICS and CALP gets transformed into a four part grid formed by the two axes of context and cognition:

figure 2.1: Cummins' model of context and cognition in language tasks



This change in the model is not a profound one - Cummins says that his later model still depends on his earlier basic distinction between two types of language proficiency (1984a, 5): CALP is still defined as having less contextual support and being more cognitively demanding, and BICS as context-embedded and less cognitively demanding (1996, 59 & 65). Rather than substantially changing the main distinction between BICS and CALP, the move to the four part grid enables a middle term, a *Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD),* to be created between BICS and CALP. This middle term enables the model to give a more explicit account of the instructional movement from BICS to CALP. I will show how this is done in the next section.

2.2.2 BICS-CALP as an account of language learning

Cummins uses his model of language proficiency to identify the problems in current pedagogy: teachers do not adapt their teaching to take account of the lower levels of CALP of their EAL students. Instruction either takes place in the context-reduced and cognitively demanding zone, and is inaccessible to EAL learners, or is "dumbed down" and takes place in the context-embedded and cognitively undemanding zone:

> A major reason why language minority students have often failed to develop high levels of L2 academic skills is that their initial instruction has emphasized context-reduced communication insofar as instruction has been through English and unrelated to their prior out-of-school experiences. (1986, 158)

The Cummins framework does not just model the language learning difficulties of EAL students, but also models their pedagogic solutions. The four-part grid (see

above, figure 2.1) allows Cummins to map out a pedagogical route for EAL learners that leads to the acquisition of CALP. Students need to start with context-embedded/cognitively undemanding tasks before moving towards context-reduced/cognitively demanding tasks via the third quadrant, the context-embedded and cognitively-demanding zone (Cummins, 1996, 56-60). This intermediary quadrant is characterised, after Vygotsky, as a Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (ibid., 72):

> language and content will be acquired most successfully when students are challenged cognitively but provided with the contextual and linguistic supports required for task completion. The process of providing these supports is usually referred to as *scaffolding* and is a central component of promoting academic success for English language learners. (ibid., 60)

BICS alone, as a type of language, does not provide the scaffold (support) for the development of CALP. For Cummins BICS, is a facade, that aspect of language which is linguistically superficial. When Cummins advocates the development of CALP through contextual support, he is not advocating a rethinking of this previously formulated notion of BICS. Rather, CALP is to be located within the contexts, material and mental, that provide the related BICS, "everyday conversations", with meaning.

The question is then begged: *How do these contexts play a role in the development of academic language?* Although Cummins' pedagogic recommendations - drawing on humanist and child-centered pedagogies (1996, 79ff) - signpost the way to these contexts, they do not show *how* CALP is scaffolded, supported, and *how academic language is learned.*

I'll deal more fully with this point below (section 2.4), but first I need to make clearer some of the basic ideas behind the model. I'll do this by looking at some criticisms.

2.3 criticisms and defences of the model

Critics have claimed that Cummins' model commits him to a deficit theory of education which disregards the social nature of language, and to an uncritical acceptance of present academic testing practices. In this section I'll show that Cummins has strong defences to both of these criticisms.

Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986) claim that the notions of BICS and CALP wrongly locate the explanations for the academic underperformance of EAL students in the internal psychology of the students rather than in the complex social practices of the classroom: BICS and CALP "are seen as independent of rather than shaped by the language context in which they are acquired and used" (ibid., 1986, 30). Cummins, then, effectively proposes a "deficit theory": BICS and CALP reify academic performances.

drawing our attention away from the social mechanisms within educational practices that cause EAL students to underperform.

However, BICS and CALP do not inevitably lead to a reduction of EAL underperformance to individual psychology. Cummins' concept of proficiency is not context-free: "There is no one universal or absolute 'structure of language proficiency' that can be identified across domains of use or experiences of learners, nor is there one preeminent investigative approach to uncover this mythical structure of language proficiency" (2000, 122) Rather, the concept of academic language proficiency is motivated by the problematic educational contexts that EAL students are situated in; the model aims to address the problems of EAL underperformance in order to change classroom practice. Cummins points out that to dismiss the framework as simplistic is to be condescending to many teachers who use it in this way (2000, 97).

The notion of CALP, Cummins says, serves as an "intervening variable" that can link academic performances to relationships of power. Indeed an interest in the question "How long does it take students to acquire academic language proficiency?" is also a question about relationships of power. In other words EAL educators can be both interested in the ideological dimension of academic language proficiency as well as purely pedagogic dimensions.

Indeed Cummins explicitly addresses the relationship between classroom practices and wider issues of power relationships between dominated and dominating social groups:

> status and power relations between groups are an important part of any comprehensive account of minority students' school failure ... These factors have been integrated into the design of a framework that suggests the changes required to reverse minority student failure. ... The central tenet of the framework is that students from 'dominated' societal groups are 'empowered' or 'disabled' as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the schools (Cummins, 1986, 178). ... Minority students are disabled or disempowered by schools in very much the same way that their communities are disempowered by interactions with societal institutions (ibid., 180). ... Two major pedagogical orientations can be distinguished. These differ in the way the teacher retains exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of the control with others. .. The basic premise of the transmission model is that the teacher's task is to impart knowledge or skills. This implies that the teacher initiates and controls the interaction. ... A central tenet of the reciprocal interaction model is that 'talking and writing are means to learning' ... The use of this model in teaching requires a genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities, guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher, and the encouragement of student/student talk in a collaborative learning context. (ibid., 184-186)

Edelsky (1996, and Edelsky et al, 1983) claims that the notion of CALP stands for an ability to do well in academic tests rather than "authentic literacy" - e.g. learning to think critically about a range of subjects, to solve problems in creative ways (1983, 12) - because Cummins uncritically accepts the value of tests that measure trivial aspects of academic language: "such evidence does not directly display real achievement; i.e. actual literacy or understanding of school subjects. Instead, it depicts

school test-wiseness, including knowledge of written etiquette, conscious knowledge of school grammar, and willingness to perform for the sake of performance" (Edelsky et al, 1983, 7).

Several points can be made in response to this criticism (Cummins, 2000, 89ff). Firstly, the framework is motivated because of the problems generated by an undue reliance on test data. The purpose of introducing the notion of academic language proficiency is to qualify traditional psychological test-based assessments. Secondly, the distinction between academic and conversational language proficiency does not entirely depend on test data for its meaning. As explained above, the distinction draws on a view about the educational problems of EAL students and on the nature of language and context. Thirdly, Cummins uses the notions of scaffolding and the ZPD to model the ideal development of CALP in the classroom: The learner is to be provided with contextual support as s/he acquires CALP.

In the next section I will look more closely at BICS-CALP as an instructional model, specifying some difficulties with an example given in its support. I'll later return to look more critically at Cummins' distinction between academic and conversational language, and text and context.

2.4 limitations of BICS-CALP as a model of language learning

I'll now start to show the limitations of Cummins' account of academic language by looking at how his model is used to describe an example of an imagined classroom activity. I will be comparing the description available in Cummins' model to possible descriptions from the points of view of the participants (and both teachers and analysts wanting to do justice to these). I will use as an example Hall's application of the framework (Hall, 1995 & 1996), which Cummins himself refers to in his own account of his model (2000, 34).[3]

Hall uses Cummins' four quadrant BICS-CALP grid (see above, figure 2.1) to give advice to EAL teachers (Hall, 1995, 53 ff. & 1996, 60). Hall's example is of a set of classroom activities supporting the teaching of Romeo and Juliet. Students assemble pictures of key scenes to make their own story which can then be re-told to the rest of the class. This is an activity placed in the context embedded and low cognitive demand quadrant. The next activity, which takes place in the cognitively demanding and context embedded quadrant, involves sequencing a set of prologue couplets with the help of pictures, a glossary, and possibly a simplified modern English version. In the cognitively demanding and context reduced quadrant these supports are not used: students are expected to order the prologue couplets using only the Shakespearean text. I will begin

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[3] Hall's use of Cummins is similar to other approaches - see Cline & Frederickson, 1996, Robson, 1995, and Brown, Caldwell & Cooke, 1995.

to think through what it means to support the task of telling a story with pictures (Hall, 1996, 61).

The task of using pictures to tell a story in groups would probably bring about very different kinds of performances. Some students may sequence the pictures to produce a coherent narrative. Other students may describe the pictures as unsequenced scenes. Others may use the pictures differently in unanticipated ways. I have already started to oversimplify by making this distinction between the use of sequenced and unsequenced pictures; classroom ethnographies (e.g. Au, 1979 & Heath, 1983) have shown how non-mainstream narratives can be mistakenly viewed as incoherent by teachers, and there may be similar dangers in making *a priori* decisions about what is and is not sequenced. But this will not affect my main point: that it is not clear from Cummins' notion of contextual support how participants may use the pictures differently to produce different story telling performances.

Perhaps for Hall it is important in this story-telling task for students to tell, or be told, a particular story so that they are prepared for subsequent tasks. For a student to do this there has to be a knowledgeable and skilled use of the pictures, and students and teacher must talk about these pictures in particular ways. This is not achieved automatically by the provision of the pictures alone. Indeed, it is not the pictures that are the contextual support but the activity of using these within a group. A story does not just emerge from the pictures but from the way they are used. For example, how does the teacher respond to the ways students use the pictures to depart from the Romeo and Juliet narrative? At what stage in the activity is the authorised Romeo and Juliet version to be introduced? How are the relationships between the different versions to be regarded? The difficulty for the teacher is not to realise that pictures might be useful for some students but to know how they are to be used. Cummins' notion of contextual support is inadequate for this task.

Perhaps the model should be judged principally on how students' CALP development can be supported in the ZPD zone. That is, the real value of the model lies in it showing how to support students in their performance of the cognitively demanding task of sequencing Romeo and Juliet prologue couplets. The archaic language, the task of sequencing the rather elliptical narrative parts into a more complete plot, and the unfamiliarity of the type of story (depending on what the children bring to the task by way of knowledge of this genre), are all factors that contribute to this being a task that requires use of CALP. The pedagogic challenge is to provide contextual support for a task which is cognitively demanding. Hall makes a number of suggestions: using the picture cues to support the sequencing task, using a modern English version, using the story from the earlier task. These suggestions, as before, do not help us to decide *how* pictures and supporting texts are to be used. We can imagine a variety of ways for the use of written text and pictures to combine in the task. The students can assemble the pictures into a story and then match the couplets to the pictures using clues within the

written text, or the pictures can act as a validation of the written text-assembling activity. The model falls short of distinguishing between these quite different options.

The kind of academic proficiency that students are displaying changes according to the different ways that images and written text get used and combine. For example, reading and sequencing before checking with pictures involves a different kind of academic language proficiency to matching pictures with the text from the outset. Contextual support is not only a set of mental and physical materials that can get us to an independently conceived set of linguistic-cognitive objectives. Once we start to question what contextual support looks like as students use it, we start to get involved in (re)describing the nature of the activity and thus the nature of the linguistic and cognitive demands. Returning to my question at the end of section 2.2.2, the model fails to account for how contextual support develops academic language, as it is not concerned with the ways that material and mental resources are used.

However, a model cannot do everything. Although the model may not be adequate for detailed thinking about how to carry out particular tasks, it can still work as a planning tool for classroom teachers. Hall uses the model to "differentiate activities": to match appropriate activities, or ways of designing them, to students' needs. In other words, the model can serve as an *aide memoire*, highlighting the need to support challenging tasks through material and mental contextual supports.

Hall argues that the model does practical work for teachers :

> It is probable that the model does not stand up to tight academic scrutiny in many ways, and there are certainly areas of debate where it is used as a suggested curriculum planning tool with groups of teachers. There is some justifiable argument about whether context can be sufficiently separated from cognitive content. However, this does not detract from the model's usefulness as a tool. ... The level of debate generated in the process of collaborative planning during the workshops means that teachers are considerably raising their own awareness of the needs of several groups of pupils ... The model also seems to have great 'street credibility'. (Hall, 1996, 70)

However, the above puzzles have been quite practically oriented: I have been concerned with how academic goals - reading and understanding Shakespeare - are understood in different ways by teachers and students in the classroom. Students often perform in unanticipated ways that radically change the nature of the task or they fail to respond in any way to the task itself. In these cases we see that the kinds of descriptions available to Hall are not adequate.

This section has aimed to explore the limits of the model rather than to undermine it. *Cummins' model can be of use to teachers, reminding them of the importance of providing material and mental contexts to support uses of academic language. But it does not afford accounts of (1) the role of context in learning, nor (2) what academic language proficiency means for the student and teacher participants.* Cummins' model is not unique in this respect, and this is partly to do with his use of the

popular metaphor of teaching as scaffolding to which I'll now turn. I'll use Wells' discussion of scaffolding as it is compatible with Cummins' model.[4]

2.5 scaffolding

For Wells a central feature of classroom learning should be the appropriation of written discourse. This appropriation comes about through joint activity; teachers are to assist students in their participation in writing activities, and so written discourse is learned through a kind of apprenticeship, with learners being supported along the route to independence.

Wells is concerned to model and provide examples of scaffolding, and the relationship between talk and text is central to this. Using Olson's distinctions between talk and text, or speech and writing (see above, 2.2.1), Wells claims that talk should scaffold the learning of writing:

> it is when participants move back and forth between text and talk, using each mode to contextualise the other, and both modes as tools to make sense of the activity in which they are engaged, that we see the most important form of complementarity between them. And it is here, in this interpretation of talk, text, and action in relation to particular activities, that, I want to suggest, students are best able to undertake what I have called the semiotic apprenticeship into the various ways of knowing. (1999, 146)

Wells provides an example of a teacher using talk to scaffold text:

> Teacher: I'm going to read this part, 'Electricity in the Human Body', because I know Benjamin is not satisfied about it (reads) "Tiny electric signals, which can be called synapses, travel through the heart muscles, triggering and coordinating the heartbeat. These signals send 'echoes' though the body tissues to the skin. Here, they can be detected by metal sensors and displayed as a wavy line called the electrocardiogram."
> Now that is the most positive proof that the human body contains electricity. ... Have you seen the pictures - movies - where people are harnessed up to - and a person had a heart attack and you see this wavy line (demonstrating).
> children: Yeah, yeah (excitedly)
> teacher: Now those wavy lines are showing the electricity going through the human body - that's called the electrocardiogram. And when a person is dead it goes 'deeeeee' -
> child: Yeah, a straight line

This is what Wells says:

> Here, the teacher has enabled the students to bring their own experiences, whether first hand or tv-mediated, to contextualise the less familiar language of the written text. (ibid., 147-148)

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[4] Cummins draws on Wells' early work (1981 & 1985) in supplying a rationale for his model (Cummins & Swain, 1986).

Maybe the students bring their own experiences to the text, but the only evidence we have of this is in their responses to the teacher's account of the movies they have seen. Although they respond excitedly to the teacher's formulation, this response is very different from a display of the students' *own* experiences, which is probably not intended by the teacher. We can see talk that refers to a generic and shared experience; what we do not see in this data is the work that the teacher does to make this talk about a shared experience: the stresses and strains within the talk that show students' pulling the smooth academic surface in different directions. For example, we can imagine a student turning to another to try to say something about an experience, and the teacher responding to this with a reprimanding look.

The notion of scaffolding tends to omit students' and teachers' perspectives. Wells is only interested in those aspects of talk that serve to prepare students for dealing with written texts, and not in the other aspects of "dynamic, concrete, spontaneous" (ibid., 146) talk that serve to show other non-academic perspectives. The "movement back and forth between text and talk" therefore is a limited one.

2.6 return to context and text

The BICS-CALP instructional model relies on particular concepts of context and text, and I'll now turn to look more directly at these concepts as they are understood by Cummins.

For Cummins, context serves as (a) a mental and material surround for language that (b) provides a meaning that can then be attached to language. I have already problematised this notion of context by showing that there are difficulties with applying Cummins' notion of contextual support (see section 2.4 above). To show that this is a profound theoretical problem and not just a technical one of applying Cummins' pedagogic model, I will consider his own example of how context and meaning are related.

In a discussion of first language acquisition Cummins says of a particular example:

> the meaning of the words can only be inferred by the young child on the basis of prior understanding of the meaning of the concrete social situation in which the words are embedded. For example, the fact that the child knows through repeated experience that getting on coat and shoes is usually followed by going outside, makes it possible to infer the meaning of the words usually spoken in this situation, e.g. 'Now we're going to go for a walk'. (1984b, 225)

It is claimed that an infant knows what these words mean - that s/he is now going for a *walk* - because of the "concrete situation" of hats and coats being got ready; the meaning of the words is inferred from this context. But this involves making an unsubstantiated claim that it is actions described in this particular way - "getting on coats and shoes" - that provide the resources for understanding. There are other aspects

of the context that may be relevant: for example, the intonation of the utterance, the accompanying gestures, facial expressions, other habits within the household, or something said prior to this utterance. The list is endless of course. By failing to address this issue of what to make relevant, Cummins is treating context as a fixed resource that can be directly encountered, faced, providing us with a pre-packaged interpretation of the language that is used. This makes Cummins' claim about the context that the child is faced with appear unproblematic. But, as the example stands, we do not know what is relevant for the child. To know this we need to do more looking, to see what s/he attends to during the getting-ready event.

For Cummins there is one meaning that the context makes transparent to the child and that is then to be attached to the "words themselves" - "now we're going for a walk". But this is being over-confident about knowing what the meaning of an utterance is. All the possible contextual factors mentioned above can serve to transform the single "obvious" meaning - that an event, going for a *walk*, is to take place - into all sorts of other implied and indirect meanings that are likely to be available to the participants. We do not know quite how the child interprets the utterance and what it means for her.

Theories in pragmatics seek to capture the complexity of indirect, or implied, meanings (e.g. Blakemore, 1992). Also, interactional analysis of conversation (e.g. Conversation Analysis) captures the way utterances do many different jobs simultaneously. For example, Dore & McDermott (1982) show how a sensitive analysis of the context of an utterance - its timing and the postural relationships between interactional participants - can lead us to interpret utterance meaning differently to its apparent speech act function: a student request to read becomes at the same time an expression of unavailability for reading.

To sum up my discussion of context: Cummins sees context as reducing ambiguity through an authorisation of pre-determined meanings. Returning to Hall's example above, contextual support supplies meaning to students, a particular understanding of the Romeo and Juliet story, which is less available from the text. In order for there to be scaffolding this meaning has to be clear, easily understood, and shared. I pointed out that there is a heavy price to pay for this view of context. It is hard to see how academic language develops, how learning can take place, when the activities are viewed solely in terms of the goal of sequencing the story and the points of view of the teacher and students are omitted. And so Cummins' concept of context needs to be reformulated.

One way of doing this is to supplement the notion of context with that of *contextualisation*. Context is not just "there", waiting to be found. Rather, context is made by students and teachers (participants). Indeed, notions of context as an objective set of conditions that can exist apart from particular uses of texts "undermines the analyst's ability to discern how the participants themselves determine which aspects of the ongoing social situation are relevant" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, 68). To see how

learning takes place, how context can play a role in the development of academic language (see section 2.2 above), we need to shift from things to processes: "Contextualisation involves an active process of negotiation in which participants reflexively examine the discourse as it is emerging, embedding assessments of its structure and significance in the speech itself" (ibid., 69).

Cummins views text apart from its formation, as a linguistic structure that is situated in social practice rather than emerging from it. Again, to show that this problem is a deep-rooted one, rather than one to do with the details of application of the model, I'll turn to Cummins' discussion of the linguistic evidence for the conversational-academic discourse distinction (2000, 76).

For Cummins the presence of bundles of linguistic features enable texts to be labelled as academic without regard to their use. For example, Cummins uses Biber's (1986) work which shows that texts can be distinguished according to the presence of linguistic features such as explicitness of lexical content. What makes one bundle of linguistic features academic rather than conversational is dependent on Cummins' intuitions, informed by his theory, rather than analysis that is accountable to a shared sense - by analysts and participants themselves - of how texts are put together on a particular occasion.

However, the view that writing is an explicit form of language, gaining its meaning from a textual surround apart from a particular context, itself forms part of a specific *literacy practice* in which speech and writing work together (Heath, 1983, Street, 1993, Cook-Gumperz, 1986, Gee 1980, Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Learning to write is a process of recontextualisation as well as decontextualisation. For example, Dyson (1989) shows how children's writing develops from annotated pictures to a less picture-dependent text through becoming embedded in a social world (both real and imaginary) of relationships between peers.

I noted above (section 2.4) that Hall's example left unspecified the variety of texts that students could construct and the manner of their construction; I made the point that the ways the students and teacher combine the use of pictures and written text-components affect their understandings of the Shakespearean text (and the meanings of their own texts).

To address the question asked above - how is academic language learned? (section 2.2.2) - the notion of *entextualisation* is more useful than the notion of *text*. The concept of entextualisation highlights the way texts are made: "it is a process of rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit - a text - that can be lifted out of its interactional setting" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, 73). This process, although afforded by features of texts themselves, is interactively accomplished.

There is a tension between Cummins' notions of text and context and his claim that language proficiency is embedded within particular contexts of use. I asked the

question at the end of chapter one: Can Cummins' model help us to understand in an EAL context how language is used, i.e. how ways-of-speaking are related by participants, in classroom learning? In other words: Can Cummins' model of language and pedagogy take into account the language-learning reflexivity that mainstreaming is partly based upon? In section 2.4 I looked at the limits of BICS-CALP as a model of language learning and showed that there was lacking an account of participants' perspectives: there was little sense of how academic and everyday ways-of-speaking were related by students and teacher. In this section I have identified shortcomings with Cummins' notions of text and context, and started to discuss what new concepts are needed. And so *I have not only shown that there is a negative answer to the above questions, but have started to identify what is needed from a supplementary pedagogic model.*

I'll conclude by summarising what I have found to be missing in Cummins' model of academic language-use and EAL pedagogy.

2.7 conclusion: reframing context and pedagogy

Despite context forming one axis of Cummins' model, the academic goal for Cummins is the *reduction* of context. I want to reverse this reduction and to place context at the centre of a description of classroom events - to describe how context constitutes the nature of the academic event. The notion of contextual *support* can be misleading, suggesting that context can be thought of as a material and mental environment (a shared understanding), apart from, and outside of, language. The attainment of CALP then leaves context behind, so to speak, as a disposable supporting stage. I have argued that we need an account of how context enters into the use of language as part of a meaning making process (contextualisation), and in particular the learning of academic language. That is, context and language need to be described together. We need to get away from the idea of language as meaning something on its own apart from its use by particular people, to shift from a notion of text to one of textualisation.

Cummins' instructional model is dependent on the concept of scaffolding - learning for Cummins is a matter of moving towards pre-set goals. There is little account of how participants - students and teachers - regard what they are doing. But classroom language-use, as pointed out by Cazden, can be heterogeneous - composed of diverse ways-of-speaking. I said at the end of chapter one (section 1.4.2) that classroom learning may not just involve the replacement of one way of speaking with another, but also the challenging of this process, and that ways of speaking are often in a state of dynamic tension. We need to add accounts of students' and teachers' perspectives to Cummins' teleological view of language learning.

Cummins is "taking and intra-organism ticket to what is actually an inter-organism destination" and thus doing "psycho-sociolinguistics" (Halliday, 1978, 38). We need to re-introduce what has been left out of Cummins' psycho-sociolinguistics so that we can see how academic language-use can be much more than CALP.

To summarise the above paragraphs: *Context needs to be placed at the centre of a model of language learning, thus building on Hymes' insights. An EAL pedagogic model needs to give an account of participants' perspectives, thus building on Cazden's point about classroom discourse as heterogeneous.*

Mohan, using a more sophisticated theory of language and context, provides a supplementary model to Cummins's framework. The question, which I'll address in the next chapter, then is*: How does Mohan's supplement stand in relation to the issue of language-learning reflexivity, as summarised in the last paragraph?*

3 reformulating context

Mohan discusses the principle of language-learning reflexivity, and provides a more detailed model of context which I outline. I show how his theory-practice *distinction figures in this. At times Mohan's perspective is explicated in relation to ideas from Systemic-Functional linguistics, and so it is necessary to outline elements of this theory. I then look at an example of the model, drawing attention to the limitations of Mohan's distinction between practice and theory. Then I look at how Mohan uses graphics as contextual support, pointing out limitations with this aspect of the model also. I outline a concept of context that draws together* field, tenor, *and* mode *as interdependent. I use this new approach to further characterize the omissions of Cummins' and Mohan's examples:* interpersonal *meanings. Using my own data I also return to the overarching concern of chapters 1-3: modelling language-learning reflexivity for EAL learners. I argue that this has not yet been achieved. I identify the task for the next 3 chapters: to supplement Cummins' model by using a kind of analysis of classroom language-use that captures interpersonal meanings. I then outline my data collection and methodology.*

3.1 introduction

Mohan has produced an influential EAL pedagogic model, and, like Cummins, seems to commit himself to the principle of language-learning reflexivity:

> What is needed is an integrative approach which relates language learning and content learning, considers language as a medium of learning, and acknowledges the role of context in communication. (Mohan, 1986, 1)

Mohan's framework is also similar to the Cummins model in that its central distinction between *practical* and *theoretical* discourse is an elaboration of the BICS-CALP distinction (Cummins, 2000, 65 & Mohan, 1986, 101). This connection has been exemplified by other EAL educationalists (e.g. Cooke, 1999, Leung, 1996).

However, the Cummins and Mohan models, and the theories they draw on, are different in important respects. Mohan says that Cummins' notion of context dependence needs to be clarified (Mohan, 1991, 117), claiming that Cummins subscribes to a problematic "traditional" view of context. Language is regarded by Cummins, according to Mohan, as corresponding to meanings that are directly made available through context (Mohan & Helmer, 1988, 277). Mohan proposes a different view derived from Halliday's work:

> Context is not seen as given, nor as an obvious physical setting, but as a sociocultural reality which is learned through communicative interaction ... the child is learning language and culture at the same time ... (ibid., 278)

Mohan characterises his pedagogic model as one that specifically explicates the way context plays a central role in language education (Mohan, 1986, v). It is not enough, Mohan argues, for communicative pedagogic approaches to merely appeal to the importance of context - and thus to the use of activities in language teaching - as a way of moving away from more formal approaches to language pedagogy. There needs to be a clearer sense of how activities are to be organised so that they provide a context for language learning:

> Current views of language teaching can be broadly termed 'communicative'. Communicative or functional language teaching derives from a functional or contextual view of language which relates discourse to extralinguistic context or situation (as contrasted with a formal view of language as an abstract system). Research in the 1970s gave much attention to the functions of language and speech acts .... In consequence there is now an increased interest in ... culturally recognised social activities in which language plays a role ... These activities are sets of contextual understandings. ... But the contextual view of language lacks an adequate model of contexts: while a contextual view of language relies on activities as contexts for discourse, we do not have a general model of activities and of their relation to discourse. (Mohan, 1986, v)

Leung (1996) shows how Mohan's ideas on the use of *graphic representations* of curriculum content in language learning can fill gaps in Cummins' account of context. Leung starts with a version of the problem I drew attention to in chapter 2: Cummins' BICS-CALP model stresses the importance of contextual support, but does not help us to see *how* context is central in classroom tasks. In other words, providing students with what Cummins calls contextual support does not necessarily lead to the development of academic language (ibid., 27). The way forward, Leung says, is to see the notions of cognition and content as related: cognitive demand has to be seen in terms of curriculum content (ibid., 31). The key question then becomes how to provide contextual support to render this content meaningful, and for this to be done in a principled way requires something like Mohan's notion of *knowledge structures* (KSs). KSs display the organisation of information, and can be used to model highly abstract and general aspects of the curriculum.[1] Leung sees KSs as providing principles for the organisation of EAL pedagogy: relationships between different parts of the curriculum can be identified. These structures can be tied to graphic representations - diagrams, tables, charts etc. - which provide contextual support for classroom activities: "the use of visual representation forms a clear and explicit link between key concepts of context and cognitive demand" (ibid., 35).

The main purpose of this chapter is to give a critical account of Mohan's model; can Mohan supplement Cummins' model in accord with the principles of language-learning reflexivity as explicated by Hymes and Cazden (chapter 1, section 1.4)? Before turning to this task, two preliminary points of clarification:

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[1] I'll have more to say about KSs below (section 3.2.2).

Firstly, although this chapter is concerned with Mohan's pedagogic framework, the thesis as a whole, especially chapters 4-6, takes Cummins's model as its point of reference. I am mostly concerned with the way Mohan's work can supplement, and identify the limitations of, Cummins' model. Secondly, although I will use some ideas from Systemic Functional linguistics (SFL) to identify the limitations of the Cummins and Mohan models, I won't be using SFL as a tool to analyse my own data.

3.2 Mohan on context

In this section I'll outline some SFL concepts and then show how Mohan develops these ideas into his notion of a *knowledge framework.* I'll begin with Halliday's explication of text and context.

3.2.1 SFL and context

Text and context, according to Halliday, are aspects of the same process:

> There is text and there is other text that accompanies it: text that is 'with', namely con-text. This notion of what is 'with the text', however, goes beyond what is said and written: it includes other non-verbal goings-on - the total environment in which the text unfolds. (Halliday in Halliday & Hasan, 1985, 5)

What, more precisely, does Halliday mean by text and context, and how are they related in this "same process"?

Text is language that is functional: it is doing a specific job in a particular context. Text is made up of functional meanings rather than words or sentences. For Halliday this functionality shapes the structure of language itself (ibid., 17). There are three main strands of meaning (*metafunctions*). *Ideational* meaning is about happenings in the world as experienced in different ways, e.g. as process or things. *Interpersonal* meaning consists of the way language users are related to one another through the particular use of language, e.g. a speaker can be questioning another person or providing a statement. *Textual* meanings consists of the way the text is shaped, e.g. its thematic structure, the way new information is introduced. These different meanings are woven together so that any one unit of language is multifunctional. Turning to context, there are three main features: *field* refers to what is happening, the nature of the action; *tenor* to who is taking part, their roles, and relationships; *mode* to the part that language is playing and the channel (e.g. spoken or written). These categories of context are closely related to language functions.

Both text and context are semiotic phenomena: they are meaningful by virtue of their being systematic. The actual choices made in the production of a particular text and context cannot be seen apart from the systems of textual and contextual choices: both a

specific text and its specific context are *instantiations* of these systems (ibid., 11). That is, a particular act of meaning is - for the analyst - nothing more than a set of choices between options within the system. Halliday's analogy to illustrate this point is that climate (system) and weather (instantiation) are not two phenomena, but are actually two ways of looking at the same phenomenon (1998, 9). The three metafunctions and three kinds of contextual systems are woven together in particular texts and contexts: at any moment we have a text/context that is a unity. However, underlying this unity there are strands of meaning that can be theoretically and analytically drawn apart.

How are text and context related in this picture? How do these semiotic phenomena hang together? What does Halliday mean when he says that text *realises* context? Not only are there systematic relationships within contexts and texts, but there is a systematic relationship between context and text:

> the context of situation, the context in which the text unfolds, is encapsulated in the text, not in a kind of piecemeal fashion, nor at the other extreme in a mechanical way, but through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand and the functional organisation of language on the other. If we treat both text and context as a semiotic phenomena, as 'modes of meaning' so to speak, we can get from one to the other in a meaningful way. (ibid., 11)

To get a sense of what this means, we need to appreciate the profound functionality of text - text for Halliday is always doing something in relation to its context. To describe this functionality we need to call upon metafunctional categories that are isomorphic with those used to describe the context of situation, and so text and context are part of the same system of meaning-making. Text cannot be described apart from context.

3.2.2 Mohan: context and theoretical text

Mohan's pedagogic framework draws on Hallidayan concepts of text and context. He argues that there are two complementary approaches to understanding the relationship between context and text (1989, 102 ff.): starting from text, as genre-based approaches[2] do, or starting from context, as he aims to do. Mohan sets out to provide a "general model of situation" which can analyse situations with the same "linguistic

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[2] Although Mohan aims to model context rather than text, he nonetheless views genre theory as closely related to his own model (1991, 129). Genre theory builds on the Hallidayan concept of register. Contextual and textual features get configured to form characteristic ways of using language in particular types of situation, *register* (Halliday & Hasan, 1985, 38). This notion of register has been developed further by Martin and associates: an extra complementary layer of analysis is added at the level of *context of culture*. We can view clusters of linguistic and contextual features as "staged, goal oriented social processes" (Martin, 1997, 13). A *genre analysis* displays the way a text's unfolding is affected by the way a speaker or writer sets out to achieve a particular "cultural goal" (Eggins & Martin, 1997, 236). Thus the notion of genre points to the way textual and contextual features get regimented into an extra layer of patterning at the level of culture. This extra layer of analysis involves an extension of the Hallidayan view of context outlined above (see Hasan, 1995 and Martin, 1992).

sophistication" as is applied to texts by Hallidayan linguistics (Mohan, 1987, 508). In order to explicate context, Mohan argues, we need to see how a particular situation can be understood as a situation type: " just as a text is analysed according to the categories of language and discourse, so a sociocultural situation is analysed as a situation type according to the categories of situation and, ultimately, culture" (ibid., 507). *Theoretical texts* are used by Mohan to explicate these situation types, or contexts.

Theoretical texts are for Mohan educational texts which aim to explain practice and explicate the knowledge that practice is based on. Mohan uses Malinowski's investigation of a particular gardening practice as an example. The conversations that gardeners have as they garden are part of a "discourse of practice" and will not provide the full context for the practice of gardening. Particular practices are to be fully understood by gardeners providing explanations to, and forming educational texts for, the learners and the researcher (ibid., 510): informants provide information about "distinctions between types of land, gardens, crops, agricultural techniques, and the social, legal, economic, and magical aspects of agriculture" (ibid., 509). These explanations, provided apart from everyday practice, serve to explicate the meaning of those practices. A theoretical text contains within it two sets of elements: discourse about *background knowledge* and procedural, or *practical*, knowledge. A theoretical text about gardening will classify plants and soils according to certain background botanical principles, and there will also be information about how to carry out gardening procedures, in what order, and the options available at any one time.

These elements of theory text provide evidence for Mohan's *knowledge framework*, which is based on a particular notion of *activity*. Activity for Mohan is a combination of an action and a theoretical understanding. Quoting Dearden:

> ' ... a human activity is not just, nor indeed necessarily, a movement of the body ... All human activities, even the most grossly physical, are necessarily mental activities ... activities necessarily involve consciousness of one's situation apprehended under some description ... The meaning of what people do, the correct description of their activities, become more and more transparent to us as we come to understand a form of social life ... *and the concepts developed by its communities of theoretical enquirers (my italics)* (Dearden, 1968, 132-134).' The two aspects of an activity, action and theoretical understanding, match the two sides of the framework. *(See figure 1 below.)* The specific, practical side we term an action situation, and the general theoretical side we term background knowledge. Following our framework, an action situation is the specific, practical part or aspect of an activity and includes the *knowledge structures* of description, sequence, and choice. The background knowledge is the general, theoretical part or aspect of an activity and includes the *knowledge structures* of classification, principles and evaluation. (Mohan, 1986, 42)

figure 3.1: knowledge structures of situation

BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE	classification	principles	evaluation
ACTION SITUATION	description	sequence	choice

What is the relationship between practical discourse (language of description, sequence, choice) and theoretical discourse (language of classification, principles, and evaluation)? Are they in a dialectical or hierarchical relationship? I started this chapter by saying that the distinction between practical and theoretical discourse was viewed by Mohan as an elaboration of the BICS-CALP distinction; a language curriculum should sequence discourse from practical to theoretical discourse, that is, increase the explicitness of meaning in discourse (Mohan, 1986, 108). This can also happen within an activity: "a learner can move from a practical situation in which meaning is implicit, to theoretical discourse in which meaning is spelled out for the learner" (ibid., 112). We can see what this means, what is meant by the term "explicit", by returning to Mohan's use of didactic and theoretical texts: "the speaker makes understanding about the activity explicit in the discourse" when there is an explanation of an activity to a learner (ibid.).

Mohan distinguishes the relationship between theoretical and practical text from other distinctions, for example between written and spoken language, and between face to face and non-face to face communication (ibid., 519). This is because the notion of *knowledge structure* (KS), which theoretical texts explicate, is a particular kind of abstraction. KSs model field rather than mode or tenor. The structure of context is to be thought of apart from what is distinctive about writing (mode), and apart from the relationship between the theory-maker and other participants in theory-making and theory-using interactions (tenor):

> KSs are abstract categories of the field of situation typically realised in discourse by logical meanings of the semantic system (1989, 103) ... Viewed in systemic terms as elements of discourse, KSs are part of the ideational function: they are means of representing experience, or more exactly the abstract logical patterns of experience. They are not part of the interpersonal function (the exchange between speaker and listener) or the textual function (the organisation of the discourse or message). (ibid., 104)

Although KSs shape all experience, Mohan claims that they are particularly relevant to the school curriculum, as a curriculum describes "features of desired knowledge" (1991, 120). KSs can be expressed both verbally, as texts, and non-verbally, graphically. In fact, Mohan claims, there are well-established educational conventions for representing KSs using graphics (ibid.). The use of graphics is viewed an important attraction of Mohan's model (e.g. Cooke, 1999; Leung, 1996) and I'll have more to say about graphics later (section 3.3.2).

I'll now look at some examples of Mohan's framework, asking the questions: (1) What role does context play in these applications of Mohan's model of language learning? (2) How are the diverse perspectives of both learners and teachers accommodated?

3.3 Mohan's pedagogic model

In this section I'll look at two examples. (See appendix 6 for extracts.) I'll use the first example to identify a problem in Mohan's attempt to divide up a pedagogic activity into theoretical knowledge and practical action, and I'll show how this distinction provides a highly idealized picture of classroom activity. Taking the second example, I'll draw attention to aspects of classroom activities that are omitted in Mohan's use of graphic representations.

3.3.1 the nature of theory

Mohan provides an example of an activity centered on two main texts. Firstly, we have a photostory, depicting a car driver buying insurance, crashing his car, phoning the police, and then claiming insurance. The main knowledge structures informing these materials can be divided into *description*, *sequence*, and *choice* (*action situation*). Secondly there are newspaper articles explaining the procedures and rationales for insurance claims (Mohan, 1986, 28). These reveal structures of *classification*, *principles*, and *evaluation* (*background knowledge*). There are two sets of proposed teaching activities, based on the photostory and the articles. Firstly, the photostory can be used to develop practical discourse, the language of description, sequence and choice. A picture affords a description, for example, of a crash; events are sequenced so that there is a development of an insurance claim; and at key moments in the story people make choices about insurance claims. Secondly, the background articles can be used to develop theoretical discourse: classifying types of insurance and accidents; using insurance principles to account for past actions and recommend future action; and evaluating insurance risks of drivers and their culpability after an accident.

I'll say something about the teaching activities associated with practical discourse. It is suggested students narrate the story: "The story shows a natural sequence of development. The characters have a crash, report an accident, make an insurance claim. The pictures show a time sequence" (ibid., 29). But the story does not only show a "natural" sequence (whatever this might be) but a series of events and actions whose sense depends on an understanding of what insurance is: how it works as procedure and as a coherent social practice. To *describe* one picture as taking out insurance and another as a making an insurance claim involves an understanding of the difference between registering a policy and making a claim. Similarly, the *sequence* of reporting

the accident to the police after the accident only makes sense if we can see insurance as a legal practice, one dependent on notions of blame and responsibility. And we would not be able to make sense of the narrative *choices*, e.g. what to do after the accident, without having a notion of the kind of position one was in with respect to making a claim. An understanding of the photostory is only intelligible if we know something about insurance, something "theoretical". The accident-insurance story and an understanding of the concept of insurance are bound up together.

Turning to theoretical discourse, an activity can be performed through the use of a *classification tree* which shows the relationships between different types of insurance: "The classification tree can be given to students with some information left out. After reading the article, they could fill in the blanks. More advanced students might draw the tree after reading the article, or conversely, given the tree, turn it back into written discourse" (ibid.). But who is doing the classifying, and for what purpose? The texts relevant to the classification tree are directed at the consumer rather than the insurance agent, and so the classification tree may be of use for a driver who is making a claim, as a way of summarizing what s/he needs to know for this purpose. This aspect of classification is not accounted for by Mohan: he regards this teaching activity as standing apart from the other narrative and descriptive activities, which seem to be quite important for giving classification sense.

Although particular cases, e.g. accidents, are said to "illustrate" general principles, and general principles "interpret" particular cases (ibid., 34), there is for Mohan a dichotomy between practical and theoretical discourse. Mohan characterises the tasks that teach practical and theoretical discourses separately.

With these critical commentaries I am not just making the point that theory is related to action. This much would be agreed by Mohan: the model of a knowledge framework is meant to place both theory and action within activities and to show them as related. Mohan, after all, says himself that "background knowledge" is necessary to understand "individual occurrences" (1986, 95). The more fundamental and critical point I am making is that in an educational context there is a reflexive relationship between theoretical understanding and action: actors bring with them their own theories. In other words, we need to move away from a unitary concept of theory - explicated by theoretical texts - to a view that there are many theories in teaching/learning actions which are used by students and teachers. For Mohan, actions seem to be preludes to - rather than an integral part of - academic language: there is an interest in the pathway between practical and theoretical language, rather than in how to place the theoretical *within* a picture of action. But theoretical understanding is not just one side of the knowledge framework, supplying the conceptual systems necessary for action; it is differently constituted depending on what these actions are and who is acting.

I am not just saying something about the linguistic or philosophical background to Mohan's pedagogy. In disagreeing with Mohan about his concept of theory, I am also

pointing out the omissions in his descriptions of pedagogic events. Mohan views theory as background knowledge which allows individual activities to be understood as instantiations of this knowledge. Mohan's view of theory therefore cannot accommodate my point about the theoretical side to the insurance story, for I am using a different sense of theory. I am not saying that we need to import a classification system to understand descriptions: this would probably be agreed upon by Mohan. Rather, I am saying that an understanding of registering and claiming insurance is both theoretical and practical *at the same time*; being able to tell a certain story about an accident is *already* understanding something about the theoretical relationships between types of insurance. This makes the matter of who is telling the story important. The theoretical understanding called upon by the client is different to that used by the insurance clerk, and so their descriptions of events, and stories, will be different. These differences, and the range of theories available, are central to the educational nature of this activity: Whose view is important and why? Are students being taught to be insurance brokers or claimants? How are these perspectives related to the roles of student and teacher?

My points about the nature of theory may not necessarily be viewed as problematic for the Mohan framework. It is, after all, not only a very common view that theory is like this - that theoretical understanding of everyday actions is achieved by accounting for, explaining, everyday actions in terms of general categories explicated in theoretical texts - but it is also a very common educational view. I will be talking more about this view of theory, and what to do about it, in chapter 7.

Also, I have not really discussed the use of graphic representations, an important part of Mohan's model, to which I will now turn. I will first outline Mohan's use of graphics and then turn to a second example to look critically at how they work.

3.3.2 graphic representation

Using graphics is a two step process: students can understand the KSs (abstract categories of the field of situation) of curriculum subjects through graphics and then use graphics to produce academic discourse. This process of translation - between knowledge, visual, and linguistic structures - is possible because KSs generally appear across different curriculum subjects, modes of discourse and interpersonal relationships. Mohan says about this approach:

> The strategy is to use graphics which represent underlying KSs. In this way KSs graphics can become a visible language, a common currency and a bridge between the language teacher and the content teacher, and a visible basis for integration and cooperation. (1991, 131)

And about the specific choices of graphic devices:

> KSs appear frequently throughout the curriculum ..... each of the KSs identified so far has well known graphic conventions for representing it, conventions which are relied upon in school text

> books. These classes or sets may be shown by Venn diagrams or trees; scientific principles relating two or more variables may be shown by a line graph or crossbreak table; and decisions may be shown by a decision tree. Furthermore there is a well known mathematical and logical basis for these KSs and their graphic representation. (ibid., 125)

I'll now turn to another of Mohan's examples, teaching the topic of nutrition using graphics. Children begin by *classifying* food using tables and a tree diagram. These graphics bring about certain types of talk related to classification: "The table contains a set of meanings which can be packed, unpacked, and built upon; and language provides various ways to express those meanings. ... Class membership, quantity, and possession are all language notions" (ibid., 79).

Students' lunch food can be *categorised* according to a Canadian Food Guide:

table 3.1: classification

	milk	vegetables	meat and fish	fruit	bread and cereals	other
apple				X		
carrot		X				
tuna			X			

Tables can also be used for teaching *principles*: for example, causes - types of diet - can be written in one column, and effects on health in another. An experiment can be performed with a mouse, observing the effects of different diets on its behaviour:

table 3.2: principles

	conditions	effects
mouse 1	balanced diet	good appearance
mouse 2	sugar diet	poor appearance

Evaluation, whether the food is good or bad, can be added on as an extra and final column to the previous kind of table. Students can modify their behaviour to see how changes in diet can lead to outcomes that are evaluated as good or bad:

table 3.3: evaluation

	actions	outcomes	evaluation
choice 1	go to McDonald's	weight gain	easier but bad for health
choice 2	bring own lunch	weight loss	more difficult but good for health

Taking the first activity above - of foods placed in different columns to convey the semantic relationship of classification - Mohan is solely concerned with the ways

knowledge can be "converted" (1986, 87) into language: for example, a particular table entry can be articulated as "a carrot is a vegetable". This approach omits how tables and written text operate *together*. A table can show patterns in ways that written text in the form of "an x is/is not a y" cannot. Written texts that accompany tables interact with displays of visual meaning, building on these and drawing out aspects of what is displayed. It may be argued that Mohan's model is of pedagogic rather than scientific texts, but as soon as writing and graphic representations start to get produced together in the classroom, they start to interact; Mohan cannot make his endeavours immune from this interaction of semiotic *modes*.

Kress & van Leeuwen's (1996) work on *multimodal texts* shows that verbal texts (e.g. writing) and non-verbal texts (e.g. pictures) can interact on the page, expressing meanings that are constructed from this interaction. These meanings are not produced from a subsuming of visual and non-visual semiotics under a more abstract code. Rather, what brings different systems of meaning (writing and visual representation) together is the individual creating his/her own act of composition, using a range of semiotic resources which have a personal and social history of use. For example, a child's drawing of a car is to be understood by the way he has developed his own distinctive resources for meaning within a set of drawings. A story that is partly conveyed through written text and partly through pictures is to be understood through the way the two kinds of meaning interact within the particular composition rather than the way one expresses the other, or the way they can be subsumed within a more general set of meanings.

There is another kind of idealisation in Mohan's example. Scientists, and students practicing science, use tables for specific, and different, purposes. When students fill in the table used in the second activity (the mouse experiment) what the table means has to be understood as part of a wider understanding of what it is to do this particular activity as a student. With this particular example, we need to know the criteria for where food items are to be placed. If students are to decide together, for example, how is this done? Is the table a piece of final work for the teacher, thus representing a finding, or a device for recording results during the experiment? The difference will have consequences for the involvement of the teacher in what is represented. The meaning of the entries, and the relationship between them, is informed by the procedures for producing the table, in turn constituted by the relationships between participants.

People come to see the world in a certain way through *practices* of seeing. Goodwin (1994) views graphic representations as an embodied practice. For example, what counts as an archeological feature of a particular kind is something to be taught to on-site archeology students through a teacher agreeing or disagreeing with the students' judgments. This involves producing an enormously complex web of spatial and social

positionings, so the relationship between teacher and student cannot be separated from what it is to represent archeological features.

In commenting on using graphics to teach the classification of food types, Mohan says: "There are two aims in using graphics for this purpose. The first aim is to communicate particular information; in this example to communicate about a classification of food. The second aim is more important and more general: it is to communicate the structure of knowledge, for example, to communicate about classification in general. (1986, 87)"

My account above can be viewed as an attempt to show that the second aim is a chimera. "Classification in general" is not something that can be communicated in the same way as the classification of a particular food. It is actually hard to know what classification in general means here. Of course I am not saying that there is no classification, but that once we know about a particular classification of food, we know *for our particular practical purposes* what classification is. The nature of classification is bound up with its objects and purposes.

Let's return to the two questions asked at the end of section 3.2.2 - (1) What role does context play in these applications of Mohan's model of language learning? (2) How are the diverse perspectives of both learners and teachers accommodated?

For Mohan, language learners, by being provided with contextual support, KSs, are learning to master theoretical texts. Mohan reduces contexts to knowledge structures, represented graphically. This omits descriptions of who is involved, and for what purpose. Mohan's notion of context is highly abstract. His pedagogic framework brackets out tenor and mode, as he is solely interested in modelling the context of field. I have been trying to show the limits of this pedagogic framework, and of this view of context.

This view of context does not afford different points of view of students and teachers. Of course, I am not denying that a scientist's classification of food is related to a student's classification, just as what goes on in a classroom is related to practices outside: it would be hard to see how learning could take place if it was otherwise. One way of seeing this relationship - Mohan's way - is in terms of an abstract cognitive structure that gets transferred from one practice to another. My point (particularly in my discussion of the nutrition example) is that this transfer has to be *performed*, and that classroom practices shape the nature of the abstract structures. We cannot assume structures get transferred by looking at the graphic form alone. We need to see how graphics are used, and how there may be different interests at stake. In a teaching activity there are multiple contexts, not just one.

3.4 context

How, then, can context be conceived to avoid limitations in the ways Mohan and Cummins describe classroom interaction? To start to answer this question I'll now draw together my previous points about Cummins' and Mohan's views of context, and use Hasan's work to identify what is missing. However, this will still beg the question of why their omissions are problematic, and so I'll go on to sketch out the consequences of these omissions using my own data.

3.4.1 the permeability of field, tenor, and mode

It is possible to use SFL to characterise the limits of both Cummins' and Mohan's accounts of context: Cummins omits field and tenor and concentrates on mode; Mohan puts to one side mode and tenor and solely attends to field; and so neither Mohan nor Cummins gives an account of tenor.

Although these abstractions of contextual parameters are made possible by the SFL model of context, it is important to remember the principle of multifunctionality: a *particular* context is still made up of field, mode and tenor. Hasan draws our attention to the importance of supplementing analysis (i.e. abstraction of contextual parameters) with synthesis, attention to particular contexts.

Hasan (1995) makes the point that the field, mode and tenor in a particular context should be thought of as a configuration rather than a combination: field, mode, and tenor are interdependent. It is not possible to completely separate out accounts of field, tenor, and mode from one another at the level of a particular event. We cannot describe one aspect of a particular context without invoking the others:

> If we disregard the synthesis aspect of social process, then we also disregard the true dynamics of the context of situation relevant to verbal interaction. In treating each single parameter as separate from the other two parameters, we ignore one of the most potent sources of the dynamic quality of social interaction: an important part of what makes one instance of interaction at once the same and different from another is how the values of the contextual variables configure. The configuration that results from the choice of symbolic mode, social process, and social relation is not a simple combination: its meaning is not additive, not just the sum of the meanings of the three; rather, contextual configuration is like a chemical solution, where each factor affects the meaning of the others. ... parameters are permeable: It is difficult to ignore for long the fact that choices in one parameter attract or repel those in the others. (Hasan, 1995, 231-233)

Let's look at some of Hasan's data, of a mother, B, bathing her child, A (ibid., 227):

A this baby shampoo doesn't go in your eye does it?
B no
A baby shampoo
B it doesn't hurt
A no
B does it?
A and some doesn't fall into your eye, does it mum?

B no
A cause this is a good one and some of them are naughty ones, aren't they?
B yes this is your shampoo
A yes ... this is the kind for little girls, isn't it? not for babies
B mm ... this one's just all for you ... isn't it?
A yes
B OK, lie down and I'll get the soap off

The relationship between participants, the tenor, is that between a mother and child. This relationship is constituted for this particular context by, amongst other things, the activity of bathing: bathing is one of the kinds of things that mothers do with children; and so if we want to describe more precisely what being a mother and child mean for this particular context, we need to describe the activity also. The activity affords roles and identities for the participants.

Why does permeability matter for Hasan? This permeability of contextual parameters is important when it comes to asking the questions: "Which social relations combine? Which social activities co-occur? How is the choice of social activity made?" (ibid., 233).

There are two activities going on in the above adult-child bathing data, according to Hasan. There is the already mentioned practical (action-based) activity of bathing, and also the relation-based activity of maintaining phatic communion: the mother is maintaining a supportive relationship, being an amiable companion. The question is: how are these two activities and sets of relationships related? The second activity primarily enacts personal relationships and influences human interactions. There is permeability here also, but it is of a different kind: the activity, and implied relationships, of amiable conversation are part of the contextual configuration of this particular bathing activity. In other words, bathing is potentially interpersonally problematic, and so the activity of amiable conversation addresses this problem:

> The recognition of this sort of (relation based) activity is then another affirmation of the permeability of field and tenor. This permeability is indicated, not so much by the need to recognise the entrained agentive roles of, for example, antagonists, friends, intimates, and so on, as it is indicated by the fact that the consequences of relation-based activities are in the end woven into the biographies of those who are carriers of the agentive role. Where a history of relation based activities of a particular kind exist, the carriers of the agentive roles do not view themselves as simply actors of certain actions with other co-actors. Rather the action based activity of bathing might get perceived as 'problematic' because the child is 'difficult'. (ibid., 252)

In answer to the above general questions - what activities and relationships combine? - Hasan says: "The answer depends on the specific make up of the contextual configuration: who you are, what you are doing, with whom, and how" (ibid., 233). In other words, to understand the relationship between particular activities, we need to take into account specific field/tenor/mode configurations.

Let's return to the Cummins and Mohan models. In chapter 2 (section 2. 4) I claimed that we need to ask how pictures get used within Hall's example of teaching Shakespearean text. If pictures are used to supplement text there is a change not only of

mode: participants are also *doing* something different and taking up a different *relationship to others*. Pictures are often associated with certain roles in the classroom: for example, stories with pictures are treated as suitable for certain kinds of "low ability" readers. And so introducing pictures to a narrative building task with text brings with it this "biographical history": students may view the activity as interpersonally problematic, i.e. there may be a resistance to the use of pictures because they are "babyish". Cummins' BIC-CALP model solely represents mode, without recognising that choices of mode affect, and are affected by, the other contextual parameters.

Returning to Mohan's example (above, section 3.3.2) of using a science table to teach nutrition: Mohan does not take into account how text and graphic work together as different semiotic modes to produce specific meaning, nor how relationships between participants are worked into discourse. A particular use of Mohan's nutritional table is bound up with the ways entries in it are judged as correct, and this act of judging constitutes a relationship between participants. This is a point about the nature of the science itself as well as an omitted contextual parameter; the student-teacher and student-student relationships also constitute the "what is happening" aspect of the task.

3.4.2 teaching and learning: the importance of tenor

I have so far only described what is missing in Mohan's and Cummins' models and have not shown why this lack of an account of tenor matters. The point about the interdependence of tenor, mode, and field apply to *particular* contexts. But Mohan and Cummins are not concerned with offering ethnographically rich descriptions of particular events. Instead they offer models that necessarily abstract educationally important aspects of context from specific events in order to be used by teachers and educationalists. Models are made to be used. And so my arguments about the limitations of these models, and the attendant idealisations, may seem to be confusing levels of analysis. Mohan (1987, 516) and Cummins (2000, 122) would say that they are *necessarily* simplifying particular events because they are concerned with educational problems rooted in practice, and to address these there has to be some amount of generalisation and abstraction.

I now need to be more explicit in showing how Mohan's and Cummins' idealisations are not just incomplete, but limited - what aspect of language use in classroom teaching/learning they are not able to capture. To do this I'll use my own data, taken from an event that I will explore in greater detail in chapters 4-6.

A small group of 9/10 year old students are reading a book with Mr. E, the teacher. There are multiple copies, and so everyone has sight of the text. In this extract three others speak: Mark, Marcus, and another unidentified student. Mark reads aloud from the written text:

talk about text (1)[3]

1 Mark		once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy/
2		who lo:::ngs for adventure/
3		what a bo:::ring job this is watching silly sheep//
4 Mr. E		do you think it <u>is</u> a boring job/
5 ?		( )
6 Mr. E		= watching sheep a:::ll da::y lo::ng,
7 Mark		=ye::s/
8 Mr. E		nothing to do/
9 Marcus		you don't have to watch them//

There are two distinct parts to this exchange: firstly, in lines 1-3, Mark is reading text aloud; and secondly, in lines 4-9, there is talk about this text. Although there is an important change at line 4, these activities are related: the reading and talk are about the same text, and the teacher's questions contain some language from the written text. What is the relationship between the activities more exactly? How are they the same and how are they different? How would Cummins and Mohan give an account?

For Cummins this exchange would be an example of written text being contextually embedded in talk: context-reduced language - reading aloud written text - is made more meaningful to students by talking about the text. For Mohan, the second activity of talk would offer a description - watching sheep is boring - that may help to make sense of the text.

These accounts are not wrong of course, but there is no sense in these descriptions of there being anything at stake, beyond understanding the text, for the teacher and students. The teacher's and students' *ways of speaking* are not made apparent. In particular, what can be said about Marcus' "you don't have to watch them" (line 9)? Although this seems to challenge Mark's answer and Mr. E's evaluation, it might, at best, be merely viewed as another part of the supportive talk, or conceptual development for Cummins and Mohan. But doesn't this marginalise an important part of this classroom learning and teaching encounter: the different points of view that are displayed, particularly by Marcus? I'll now say something about how this event might look different if we take account of tenor.

I'll start by considering the context for lines 1-3. The field here - the activity that is being performed by Mark - is reading aloud. This cannot be separated from what the teacher, Mr. E, is doing at the same time: listening to and monitoring Mark's performance. In talking about these activities (field), I have already started to touch upon the interpersonal context (tenor). That Mr. E can at certain moments correct Mark.

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[3] For purposes of analysis I divided the transcript into "talk about text" and "reading aloud" segments. See appendices for written and graphic text, full transcripts, and transcription conventions.

and that Mark is attending to this, constitutes the relationship here between teacher and student. This act of reading and monitoring is what these people - with this relationship - do here: if Mark was not straining hard to perform in this way - we can maybe imagine him stopping to ask a question or to make a comment - the relationship between Mr. E and Mark would be different. And so *this particular* reading and monitoring activity cannot be separated from the relationship between Mark and Mr. E (tenor).

Turning to the second activity, the teacher by asking a question (line 4) changes the activity from reading aloud to talking about the text. This involves for Mr. E a rehearsal of the recently read-aloud text: Mr. E focuses on the job of the shepherd being boring. There are related changes in tenor. Now children are not so much to perform an act for the teacher to attend to and evaluate, but to join with the teacher's response to the text.

What is the relationship of the second activity to the first? To understand what Mr. E is doing when he asks "do you think it is a boring job?" (line 4) we need to take account of the contextual configuration of lines 1-3. Mr. E's question then becomes a way of responding to and affecting the read-aloud text: the participants can take a particular stance towards the text, and to Mr. E. The question then becomes not just a question that a teacher asks as a teacher, or just a question about the text, but a question that is doing a certain kind of job with *these* people - students as readers and teacher as listener - who have in the course of the previous reading-aloud activity, and many more like it, built a set of interactional relationships in which students are evaluated by the teacher for their reading.

And so Marcus in line 9 can be seen as not just adding to, or undermining, contextually supportive talk (Cummins); not just contesting the importance of a particular conceptual relationship on which the text is based (Mohan); Marcus is challenging the way that the teacher uses talk to comment on and supplement the reading-aloud activity, that is, the teacher's rights to prioritise a particular reading of the text and make judgements about students' readings. By taking into account the role of tenor, we can do greater justice to the dynamic tension between ways of speaking in learning and teaching encounters (see chapter 1, section 1.4.2): students' responses to the text may be both responsive to the reading and talking task, and at the same time they may challenge a particular teacher-led view of the text, and the related student-teacher relationship.

In sum: *the omission of tenor is problematic because classroom learning and teaching become conflict-free encounters in which one way of speaking, the teacher's, is the only source of analytic interest.*

3.4.3 summary

Cummins and Mohan are concerned with the problem of how EAL students develop academic discourse proficiency by drawing upon their existing resources, what they bring with them to the classroom. Cummins characterises this problem in terms of the relationship between BICS and CALP, and Mohan frames the problem in terms of the relationship between action and theory. In this chapter I have considered the view that Mohan's knowledge framework can do greater justice to this problem through a more sophisticated notion of context than the mental and material view of context in Cummins' model. Mohan seems to think that Cummins' notion of context is not general enough; Mohan's model can therefore be appended to Cummins' framework. It is as if Cummins can get us some of the way by supplying a model that shows how CALP has to be based in a mental and material world, and Mohan a bit further by abstracting from this kind of context and providing generalisable structures.

However, I have tried to show that Mohan's and Cummins' models have similar shortcomings. Cummins' model does not have anything to say about the students' and teachers' involvement in movements between conversational and academic language, BICS and CALP; it is hard to say *how* contextual support gets used by participants. Material and mental contexts get replaced by Mohan's graphic representations, but we still do not yet have a clear sense of how these new kinds of contextual supports get used. The problem with Cummins' notion of context, then, is not that it is insufficiently general, but rather that it is *too* general.

I have recently shown (in section 3.4.2 above) why Mohan's and Cummins' notions of context are problematic, and this allows me to return to the question asked at the end of the last chapter (section 2.7): How does Mohan's supplement stand in relation to the notion of language-learning reflexivity? In other words (see also this chapter, end of section 3.3.2): (1) For Mohan is context of central importance in an account of academic language? (2) Can Mohan's model give an account of different participants' perspectives, thus building on Cazden's view of classroom discourse as heterogeneous? There is a negative answer to both of these questions. *Mohan prioritises an aspect of context - field - that does not help us to describe the different points of view held in dynamic tension (chapter 1, section 1.4.2, and section 3.6 below) within classroom teaching and learning exchanges.*

3.5 implications and the research problem

The task now, in chapters 4-6, is to extend, supplement and challenge Cummins' model, still focusing on the concerns of language and pedagogy, but using a mode of analysis that can capture the interpersonal dimension of language and context. The analysis will be used to develop Cummins' EAL model. I will not be using data to

simply exemplify my own alternative model, nor to provide reasons for abandoning Cummins' framework. Rather, I will think through and extend Cummins' own formulations of his key propositions: that language proficiency is bound up with social context, and that the key EAL concern is how students relate their conversational and academic language use. The key question is still: how can Cummins' model be supplemented in ways that do justice to the reflexivity of language and learning?[4]

Using the data looked at above (section 3.4.2), and other similar data, I'll: (1) draw attention to ways that Cummins, in giving an account of this reading event, would have to rely on assumptions that he could not model (chapter 4); (2) focus on these "gaps" to bring to the surface certain interactional features that can inform a new perspective on the event (chapter 5); and (3) redescribe the event as a whole, reflecting on Cummins' key propositions (see above paragraph) and how these can be reframed using this new perspective (chapter 6). These three chapters will be an expansion and elaboration of the argument in section 3.4.2 above.

In chapter 4-6 I want to develop my criticisms into fresh concepts that can be of use in supplementing Cummins' model. Although I have used SFL to characterise the problems with Cummins' model, I will be drawing on a different set of approaches to language. This theoretical background and methodology will be exemplified and further explicated in chapters 5, 6, and 7, but I'll outline the main ideas below.

3.6 the interaction order, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis

It's now time to say more about the point made in chapter 1 (section 1.4.2) that classroom discourse is profoundly diverse - made up of different ways-of-speaking - and that learning is not a straightforward replacement of one with another. I'll return to Cazden's work and her use of Bakhtin.

Bakhtin stresses both the creativity of individual utterances and the way these utterances draw on genres, established ways of using language:

> The generic forms in which we cast our speech, of course differ essentially from language forms. The latter are stable and compulsory (normative) for the speaker, while generic forms are much more flexible, plastic and free ... The better our command of genres, the more flexibly and precisely we reflect the unrepeatable situation of communication - in a word, the more perfectly we implement our free speech plan. (Bakhtin, 1986, 79-80, quoted in Cazden, 1993, 200)

This creativity of speech does not preclude internal conflict within what is said and who is speaking:

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[4] The relationship between Cummins' model and the kind of analysis that I will be carrying out in chapter 5 & 6 is quite complex, and I'll talk about it most directly in chapter 7. For the moment I'll be glossing this complexity with the term "supplement".

> Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated - overpopulated - with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (Bakhtin, 1981, 294, quoted in Cazden, 1993, 202)

This "difficult and complicated process" of using the voices of others to find ones own is captured in Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia:

> language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth ... all languages of heteroglossia, whatever the principle underlying them and making each unique, are specific points of view of the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterised by its own objects, meanings and values. As such they all may be juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically. (Bakhtin, 1981, 291-292)

Applied to educational situations, particularly the classroom, Bakhtin's view of language-use highlights the tensions between academic and other ways of speaking. Learning a new academic way of using language may involve neglecting others, and ways of speaking, new and old, may come into conflict with one another. Cazden quotes one of her students reflecting on her own use of academic language:

> As I began work on this assignment, I thought of the name of the course and thought I had to use the word 'discourse'. The word felt like an intruder in my mind displacing my word 'talk'. I could not organise my thought around it. It was like a pebble thrown into a still pond disturbing the smooth water. It makes all the other words in my mind go out of sync. (Cazden, 1993, 197)

This conflict need not be completely constricting: Norton Peirce (1995), Pratt (1998), Delpit (1998), Johnstone (1997), and Ivanic (1997) argue that students can combine academic ways of using language with their own personal voices, managing the tension between having something to say and saying this in an academic way. Learners appropriate, accommodate to, resist, and ironize academic voices for their own purposes.

Personal identity, or a sense of self, is a common theme in this type of work. Language learners are learning more than just a language system: they are relating new and old identities to create a new sense of self. The emphasis is on how an individual uses language for his/her own highly specific purposes. An example of this is given by Norton Peirce (1995) who refers to the way an otherwise unconfident language learner becomes assertive and talkative in circumstances in which her identity as a mother can be expressed: her second language learning is bound up with her sense of self, where this can be constituted differently depending on the interaction she is involved in.

But what do these different language learning purposes look like, and what more can we say about the heteroglossia of academic-personal language-use? Norton Peirce's example, for instance, although drawing attention to the significant relationship between

the identity of carer and learner, does not provide an account of the way this new relationship works. How exactly does the mother think of herself as both a language learner and mother? How does being a mother shape the nature of language learning for her? When is this a confidence-building relationship, and when not? Are there times when caring gets in the way of learning? Goffman's discussion of the *interaction order*, and the practices of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis can provide analytic tools to address these kinds of questions.

3.6.1 the interaction order

The interaction order is a domain of face to face interaction. This domain is a kind of world - "a substantive domain in its own right" (Goffman, 1983, 2) - as it tells us something about the human condition, not as a sign of social structures or identities that are located elsewhere, but in its own distinctive way, partly affected by social categories but not determined by them. People behave within the interaction order in two ways: as members of social *categories* and as *individuals* forging their own local identities (ibid., 3). I'll be looking at classroom events as part of the interaction order, explicating individual identities that are not reflections of categories formed elsewhere, but are built up by students creatively working with language in the task at hand.

In presenting the notion of an interaction order that occupies a space distinct from the personal and the social-structural levels of meaning, Goffman makes a distinction between the *situated* and the *situational*. Daily life is situated to the extent that occurrences are effects of social structures (such as relationships of gender and class) and situational to the extent that occurrences are constituted within face-to face interaction:

> The trick ... is to differently conceptualise these effects, great or small, so that what they share can be extracted and analyzed, and so that the forms of social life they derive from can be pieced out and catalogued sociologically, allowing what is intrinsic to interactional life to be exposed thereby. (ibid., 2-3)

3.6.2 ethnomethodology and conversation analysis

Ethnomethodology studies the interaction order by turning people's common-sense resources for understanding one another into topics of research. Traditional sociology, Garfinkel (1967) argues, does not attend to how members of society make social order for themselves in interaction. Ethnomethodology studies the way this is achieved, and so there is a shift from explaining social behaviour using sociological analysts' theories, for example functionalism, to explicating behaviour using the participants' own methods for making sense to one another:

> a concern for the nature, production and recognition of reasonable, realistic and analysable actions is not the monopoly of philosophers and professional sociologists. Members of society are concerned as a matter of course and necessarily with these matters both as features and for the socially managed production of their everyday affairs. (Garfinkel, 1967, 75)

One way that members of society understand one another is though their use of language and so ethnomethodology is concerned with the way language is used in interaction. Conversation analysis (CA) is a form of ethnomethodology and is the study of talk in interaction. Its aim is to situate language use within the interaction order:

> CA is only marginally interested in language as such; its actual object of study is the interactional organisation of social activities. (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, 14)

Talk is viewed as doing something within a particular interaction, addressing methodically an interactional problem. For example, withholding ones name in a telephone call when the other person has given theirs, by claiming not to hear, is both a conversational and a social act. The problems that talk addresses are simultaneously conversational and social: the problem in the above example does not exist outside of talk. And so talk in interaction, just as the interaction order, is an analytic object in its own right: the methods of conversationalists are seen not as solutions to "bigger" social problems, but to their own problems as talkers-in-interaction.

These approaches to language and society depend essentially on "real world" data - transcriptions of recorded talk. The methods that the analyst studies are then rooted in a particular stretch of talk in interaction, and so it is much harder to separate out language from social context.

3.7 setting, data collection and methodology

My data was collected in 1998 from a year five (9/10 year olds) classroom of a London primary school. About 50% of the students in the school came from homes in which languages other than English were spoken, about twenty in all. Portuguese was the most common additional language, spoken by about 20% of the students. Other languages spoken were: Vietnamese, Bengali, Spanish, Turkish, Yoruba, and Urdu. Of the twenty seven students in the class, school records showed fourteen EAL students.

I spent 2-3 days a week in the class over a period of about ten weeks, and then continued to make visits for further data collection over the course of the next year. My role was mostly that of observer, but at times I became a helper when students and teacher wanted. I spent most of my time in *literacy hours*, which was at the time a recent addition to the national curriculum. I focused on group reading sessions as these were relatively easy to record and observe, seemed to be treated as important by everyone (e.g. there was a great deal of effort devoted to staff training for these), and academic tasks appeared to be relatively clear to participants. Also, I felt that these events were

promising sites in which to explore questions about the relationship of academic to everyday discourse.

I collected two kinds of data used in this thesis: (1) small group reading of a shared text, and (2) written story texts. The group reading data consists of transcriptions of audio and video recordings of the reading activities that I observed. Although I was often close to these events, making notes, I found that analysis mainly depended on a close study of these recordings, particularly video. I was not able to collect data on the production of particular written texts, for example how specific talk interacted with the production of text. The activity of writing was quite difficult to record: a text would not get written at one sitting in the literacy hour, and I found it hard to predict when writing was to be done, as it often got treated as "finishing off work" that could be completed at any time in the day and take many days or weeks to complete.

The data that I use in this thesis come from a much larger corpus that includes observations and audio/video recordings of playground and lunch-time talk and action, unstructured interviews with small groups of students, observations and audio recording of assemblies. I collected these with the aim of doing an ethnography of classroom, school, and playground narrative practices which I initially felt would provide insight into the relationship between everyday and academic language-use, thereby addressing the theoretical questions I have already discussed in chapters 1-3. However, for reasons discussed later (in chapter 8) I found it difficult to use the concept of narrative, and so I abandoned this approach to my data. Consequently much of the data has not been used in this thesis, except as a contextualisation for the analyses that bear on theoretical problems.

I am using data in this thesis to make an argument about EAL pedagogic models and theories that they draw upon. Although certain biographical facts about students and my knowledge of classroom and school practices inform my treatment of the data, they are not of central importance. This is because my data are teaching and learning encounters between teacher and students and my questions are concerned with how these may inform certain EAL pedagogic models. It is easier therefore to introduce further details about the site and informants when my analysis needs these.

4 BICS-CALP and reading aloud

Cummins frames a key issue in EAL, the relationship between academic and everyday discourse, in terms of questions about how individual students should be assessed and how pedagogy should respond to these assessments. But because of the limitations of Cummins' view of context, these questions need to supplemented. In addition to describing academic discourse competence and effective pedagogy we need to add an extra layer of analysis: academic discourse is jointly made by participants (both teachers and students) as well as being produced by students and facilitated by teachers. The question now becomes not whether Cummins is right or wrong, nor whether his approach is better than other EAL pedagogies, but how to think about the above issues - the assessment of competence in academic discourse and effective pedagogy - without making a priori decisions about what academic discourse is.

I start to address this question by showing how the BICS-CALP distinction has been applied to reading events using concepts from psycholinguistics and the whole-language *approach to reading. Using data from a reading-aloud event, I carry out a* miscue analysis *of two students' reading aloud turns, showing how one student's turns suggest a higher level of CALP than the other. I also show how the miscue analysis can be extended to show that the more able reader shapes his reading aloud to be understood in different ways by his audience. I then turn to what the teacher is doing and measure the teacher's pedagogical approach against that recommended by various exponents of the whole language approach to reading. As with the miscue analysis, I find that the explicit principles are in need of supplementing: the teacher does not appear to be allowing intertextual and extratextual connections to be made by the readers as individuals, but instead collaborative work is being done to supplement the reading-aloud. Having identified gaps in these Cummins-oriented analyses, we then know on what to focus a subsequent interactional analysis.*

4. 1 introduction

Cummins develops a pedagogic model that looks at the same time to both that which is distinctive in academic language-use within the classroom, the particular needs of newly arrived bilingual children to achieve academic parity with their peers, and those resources that students bring to the classroom, in particular EAL students' ways of using language outside the classroom. Put slightly differently, Cummins wants to address the problem of how academic discourse learning can be different from, and yet at the same time be related to, ways of using language that EAL students bring with them to the educational encounter.

The distinction between language-use inside and outside the classroom provides a starting point for a lot of work on learning, literacy and education. Anthropological

approaches make distinctions between patterns of *literacy events* (Heath, 1983) or *communicative styles* (Scollon & Scollon, 1981) to argue that classroom miscommunication between students and teachers should be seen in the context of cultural difference rather than cognitive deficit. Microethnographies attend to the ways students and teachers draw on cultural identities in classroom encounters to establish more provisional and local identities within the interaction order (e.g. Erickson, 1982a & 1982b, Varenne & McDermott, 1998). Sociocultural psychologists and activity theorists characterise learning as taking part in communities of practices or activity systems in which teachers' and students' everyday talk, especially in classroom settings, can play a key part (Wells, 1999, and Lave & Wenger, 1991). Critical literacy theorists see teaching as relating students' own experiences, interests, and language-use with explicit and critical instruction which makes relevant the ideological context of teaching/learning (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000). Cummins draws on ideas from much of the above of work to provide a rationale for, and develop, his own model.

Some of the approaches in the above paragraph (e.g. sociocultural psychology and activity theory[1]) view non-academic ways of speaking as a resource upon which academic language use can be unproblematically built; language-use inside and outside the classroom is different but commensurate: one kind of language-use can be developed from and subsume the other in time. For example, students' communicative styles can be encouraged in a reading event when there is talk about the text, so that what the teacher wants to do - to get students to come to *some* kind of global understanding of the text - can be developed from what the students want to do - talk to one another about what they think and energetically disagree with one another. (See my discussion of scaffolding in section 2.5.) Other approaches (e.g. microethnography), although still concerned with the educational benefits of relating different ways of using language, are more attentive to conflicts between ways-of-speaking, so that discourses can, at times, be incommensurate. For example, what happens when the disagreements between students involve marginalising, educationally, some students? Or what happens when students' personal responses to a text are at odds with the teacher's project of aligning students to this text? Everyday discourses are not only to be treated as the initial stages of a developmental trajectory, but to be taken seriously as alternatives. (See my discussion of Cazden and Bakhtin in section 3.6.)

Cummins views everyday and academic discourse as entirely commensurate: everyday language-use (or more accurately the context that everyday language-use depends on for its meanings, see section 2.2) provides a foundation for the development of academic discourse. I've already made some critical points about this as a theory (chapter 2, particularly section 2.5), but I'll have more to say about what a modified EAL pedagogy can look like by the end of chapter 6.

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[1] But see Litowitz, 1993.

This reservation about the relationship between BICS and CALP, and my criticism of Cummins' notion of context in previous chapters, is not an argument against Cummins' project as outlined in the first paragraph above. Cummins has identified important educational problems, and is asking some good questions: (1) How can we describe the competencies and needs of individual EAL pupils, and in particular their ability to produce and take part in *academic* discourse; and (2) What can teachers do, what kind of strategies can they use, to bring about the development of EAL students' individual academic discourse competencies? (See sections1. 5 and 1.6.)

However, I want to put some distance between Cummins' treatment of these questions and my own, which are informed by an orientation to: (1) contextualisation (section 2.6), (2) interpersonal meanings (section 3.4), and (3) the interaction order (section 3.6). Academic discourse does not necessarily, or only, involve the development of the written mode, but should also be understood as constructed within an interaction order. The character of academic discourse becomes much less certain, a matter of empirical research rather than *a priori* theorising. In chapters 5 and 6 I will be asking how academic events are constructed in the classroom: What is it that the teacher and students do that makes an event a classroom learning event? How is the event *made into* an academic event of a certain kind from what is brought to the classroom? I will still be working with a distinction between academic and non-academic discourse, but I am, unlike Cummins, concerned with how this distinction is interactionally produced: what it means for particular participants speaking about a specific subject in a particular way.

What are the implications of this preliminary recharacterisation of academic discourse for Cummins' above questions about EAL assessment and pedagogy? My view is that these are important questions to ask, but that to pursue an interest in EAL assessment and pedagogy we don't have to start out with them in the way that Cummins does. In addressing the issue of assessment, Cummins draws heavily on psycholinguistic constructs drawn from second language acquisition theory, for example *fluency* versus *accuracy*. In addressing the question of EAL pedagogy, he turns to concepts drawn from *whole language* pedagogies. As a result, relying solely on these two rather different, although connected, discourses, teachers are portrayed as involved in long term strategy, manipulating the classroom environment to ensure that students can develop in the most effective way.

Cummins' starting point is different to mine: in the next chapter I will start from within interaction to ask what learning and teaching are within a specific context. *We can then see how a description of a specific pedagogic approach is reflexively related to descriptions of particular pupils' classroom performances, in other words, how teachers (or analysts concerned with teachers' perspectives) can describe what they (teachers) do in ways that are congruent with pupil's own sense-making practices inside*

the classroom.[2] This, then, allows teachers to be more than (effective or ineffective) facilitators and pupils to be doing more than developing (or not).

In making this argument for prioritising the ways that academic discourses are constructed locally, I am not wanting to dissolve the concerns with individual students' academic development and with pedagogy as strategy. At some stage in an analysis relevant to the needs of EAL learners, the individual learner needs to be taken into account. Taking an interactional perspective on learning does not preclude focus on the individual. Learning can - arguably, must - be understood through the way interaction is bound up with a change in the individual: "Learning by individuals occurs as a reflexively adaptive transaction between the immediate environment and the individual, in which each stimulates change in the other." (Erickson, 1982b, 151) Also, it is hard to imagine how formulating long-term pedagogic strategy can be completely avoided.

So, how might these questions about assessment and pedagogy be changed? At the moment it is difficult to say exactly, in advance of analysis of particular pedagogic interactions. After all, my point above was about not making *a priori* decisions ahead of empirical investigations. We need to bring interest in (1) individual students' development and (2) pedagogic strategy to an analysis of interaction and see what light the analysis sheds on these concerns. However, it is possible to say something at this point about the kind of changes there might be. Rather than asking solely about the stage of development of an individual, in terms of levels of competence or proficiency, there is going to be more interest in how change comes about through active participation in a *practice*. The learner thereby becomes more responsible for his/her own learning: s/he plays a part in making the practice what it is. And the teacher is not only a strategist, leading students towards the achievement of a learning objective. The teacher's actions are responsive to students' actions within interaction and these responses can be viewed as recharacterising the pedagogic strategy.

*In chapters 4-6 I aim to show how an analysis of interaction reframes Cummins' questions. The main task of the next three chapters, then, is: to explore how interactional analysis (*conversation analysis *or analysis of* talk in interaction*) can inform, or construct, the academic-everyday discourse distinction and can inflect the notions of individual academic competence and teaching strategy that depend on this distinction.*

A good place to start would seem to be with an analysis of classroom reading events, more specifically, with the common phenomenon of groups of students reading aloud and talking about stories with a teacher. Cummins has made use of theories of

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[2] What I mean by congruency may be rather unclear at the moment. One way of putting this for now, drawing on Goffman, is to say that I will focus on individuals in their particular here-and-now relationships rather than categories, and the situational rather than the situated (see section 3.6.1) - I want to consider the ways identities and actions are constructed, shaped, and changed by participants acting together (teacher and students who are not just "playing out their roles", or "following a script").

reading that enable him to operationalise his BICS-CALP distinction at the level of individual proficiency at reading aloud, and has also appropriated a set of educational discourses that enable him to generalise about reading pedagogy. And so it would seem possible to generate from a reading event data to which the BICS-CALP distinction and consequent concepts of competence and pedagogy can be applied. Also, there have been several microethnographies of these kinds of events, and these can be used as resources for a different analytic approach.

Chapters 4-6 involve reframing rather than replacing Cummins' key concerns, and so it is important to be clear about the relationship between Cummins' analysis and my own. In this chapter I will start with a Cummins-like approach to the reading event, (1) making an assessment of pupils' reading, and (2) seeing if what the teacher is doing fits with strategies that are advocated as promoting CALP. Although I will be sympathetic to aspects of Cummins' stance in the way I carry out these analyses, I will also be highlighting some uncertainties that arise: there are times when the analytic discourse seems to be unable to achieve Cummins' own ends. Also, at the level of "fitting" the event to appropriate pedagogy, there will be moments when Cummins' pedagogic discourse seems to fall short of his own analytic targets. I will try to show that these problems are not due to the event studied providing inadequate data, but with there being limits to the analytic concepts that Cummins uses. In chapters 5 and 6 I will take a different approach to the same event to show how these problems can be better addressed. This means that I need to *start* with Cummins' central concerns and to use parts of his model to characterise both the central question - about the relationship between academic and everyday discourse - and an analytic description of the event in question. And so at first I need to align myself partly to Cummins' theory - posing the problem using some of his analytic terms - before then taking a different perspective on the event I will be studying. This means that I am not simply replacing one theory with another. Nor am I constructing a "middle ground". The focus on the distinctiveness of academic discourse, individual assessment, and pedagogic strategy is necessary, but needs at some stage to be reconstrued by turning to a radically different approach. (I'll return to these points about analytic strategy in chapter 7.)

I'll outline the argument and analyses which extend over chapters 4-6. Cummins makes use of Goodman's very influential psycholinguistic approach to reading, versions of which have been adopted by educationalists seeking to respond to what they see as the distinctive needs of EAL learners (e.g. Wallace, 1986, Cline 1998). I will apply this approach to particular data, looking at the reading lesson which provided the data introduced in chapter 3 (section 3.4.2). I'll carry out, following a version of Goodman's analytic framework, a *miscue analysis* on the students' reading-aloud performances, viewing features of the reading performance as symptoms of the children's' individual competencies. I will also discuss the talk between teacher and students about the story, still attempting to follow a broadly psycholinguistic perspective.

In the next chapter I will take an ethnomethodological approach to reading which takes account of those classroom interactions that a psycholinguistic approach tends to marginalise; I will take the same event and perform a different kind of analysis, in terms of how students and teachers perform *together*. Similarly for the talk about the story: the teacher's talk is then analysed in relation to particular responses from the students.

I'll then, in chapter 6, make clearer the connections between the two aspects of the reading event, academic discourse competence and effective EAL pedagogy, or reading performance and student-teacher talk, which the psycholinguistic analysis represents as separately analysable. I will make the point that in a certain respect these aspects can be better understood together. The way the story is read aloud and the way that the story can be talked about can be understood and described using the same analytic concepts. Differences between the two analyses (psycholinguistic and ethnomethodological) will serve not only to progress an argument about the limitations of the psycholinguistic view of reading, but will also generate an analytic agenda for the consideration of further data. I will argue that it is in this way especially that the interactional perspective has great analytic potential: we can start to make connections between different parts of a classroom event. In other words, the teaching and learning of reading starts to look different, and, more generally, there is a change in our view of the relationship between everyday and academic language-use within the classroom.

4.2 BICS-CALP, psycholinguistic theories of reading and whole language pedagogy

In this section I will show how the concept of BICS-CALP draws on a psycholinguistic theory of reading and whole language pedagogy, and identify the analytic approaches that I will use. I will not critique this approach to reading, although I will comment towards the end about the aspect of the theory that I think cannot be accommodated within an interactional analysis.

4.2.1 reading

Effective reading has come to be viewed by many reading educationalists as more than a *bottom up* process of extracting and assembling meanings from textual components (Smith, 1985, and Clay 1979). Reading is also a *top down*, or *interactive*, process (Carrell, Devine & Eskey, 1988). Meaning is constructed as much from the experiences and expectations (or *schemas*) of the reader as from the text itself. The reader is active, engaged in an act of interpretation, rather than in a passive linear process of identifying formal linguistic features of isolated words. Goodman's theories have been very influential in these ways of thinking about reading.

For Goodman (1982), reading consists of an individual reader constructing a meaning in his/her mind from the text using the cognitive resources that s/he possesses as an individual. There are three key elements in this view of reading: (1) reading is centered on an encounter between a solitary individual reader and a material text; (2) the construction of meaning involves the reader bringing his/her own background to the material text, "experiences, values, conceptual structures, expectations" (Goodman & Goodman, 1977, 324); and (3) proficient reading does not consist of accurate performing of parts of a text, but the assembling of a whole. Good readers are concerned to build up a unified meaning, e.g. to make sense of a story, rather than to produce isolated performances of parts of the story (or even words).

Goodman's theory of reading has implications for pedagogy: For example, it is best to learn to read using texts which draw on familiar, spoken language. Students with reading difficulties may need to be taught how to apply their own past experiences to a text, or to be made familiar with the overall form of the text (e.g. that it is a story with a certain structure). I'll say something more about pedagogy below.

This general characterisation of effective reading has been made relevant to the analysis of EAL students' reading. It is claimed that they have difficulties with top-down reading because they are more likely to lack the required syntactic and semantic frameworks, and cultural competencies, that their monolingual peers can rely upon (Wallace, 1986, Gibbon, 1991, Williams & Capizzi Snipper, 1990), especially as there is a common emphasis in classrooms on teaching word decoding at the expense of other reading skills. This will then lead to a particular problem for EAL learners: they often become proficient at the decoding type of reading whilst remaining unable to "read for meaning" (Rigg, 1986 and Cline, 1998). The point has been made that this is not the whole story. Gregory (1996) subscribes to an interactive model of reading (Carrell, Devine & Eskey, 1988), suggesting that bilingual learners may also have difficulties with bottom-up reading processes, and so adds some extra teaching strategies - e.g. a focus on lexical relationships - to those advocated by those subscribing more unequivocally to top-down models. However, the basic approach remains the same: a key problem for Gregory and others is for EAL learners as individuals to make a text "their own" (Gregory, 1996, 147).

How do these ideas about reading fit with Cummins' model?

4.2.2 BICS-CALP and miscue analysis

Top down reading, or "reading for meaning", can be seen as a kind of CALP. Indeed, for Cummins reading is an essentially academic task:

> In the written mode, reading is crucial as a source of comprehensible input to accelerate students' academic growth. Reading is essential for students to get access to the language of the text. This language is very different from the language of interpersonal conversation. The vocabulary usually

> consists of words that are less frequent than those in everyday conversational language; grammatical constructions are more complex because meanings must be made more explicit; and textual language is not supported by the immediacy of context and interpersonal cues (e.g. gestures, intonation) that makes conversational language easier to understand.
>
> Academic success depends on students comprehending the language of text. The language of text is found only in books ... Thus, students' knowledge of academic language and their ability to use academic language coherently in their own writing is crucially dependent on the amount and variety of what they read. (1996, 80)

Cummins claims that the development of CALP can be measured by the analysis of readers' "errors" when reading aloud, using Goodman and Goodman's system of *miscue analysis*. In criticising an indiscriminate focus on reading errors Cummins says:

> The perception of all 'errors' as equally undesirable ... blinds teachers to crucial qualitative distinctions in children's oral reading miscues, for example, between semantic and grapho-phonemic miscues in oral reading. As miscue analysis clearly shows, the former are indicative of reading for meaning and are common among proficient readers, whereas the latter tend to characterize less proficient readers and/or those who been taught by a phonics method. ... Semantic 'errors' or miscues might more appropriately be regarded as a hopeful sign among children with learning difficulties. (1984b, 239) ... For assessment of reading after the initial stages, both miscue analysis and cloze procedures provide appropriate ways of monitoring both progress and strategies in reading. (ibid., 260)

And in making the point that CALP refers to literacy-related language skills, Cummins and Swain say:

> Our concept of cognitive academic language proficiency is developmental and can be measured by a variety of techniques, including miscue analysis. (Cummins and Swain, 1983, 30)

Miscue analysis provides a "window" onto the nature of the reading process (Goodman, 1967 & 1982, and Goodman & Goodman, 1977). In particular it provides a picture of how successful the reading process is, how reading is not "just a performance" but a more or less successful *reading for meaning*. Miscue analysis has two parts: the reader reads a text, a story, without interruption or prompting, and the differences between the oral reading and the written text are categorised; then the reader is asked to retell the story. The retelling enables the analyst to better interpret the miscues: s/he is able to get a sense of the reader's own language system which is drawn upon in the reading aloud. The analysis of the miscues initially shows how the reader uses the three kinds of information available to him/her: *graphophonic*, *syntactic*, and *semantic* cues. (These categories will be exemplified shortly.) The assumption on which the analysis is based is that the reader gets meaning from the "graphic display" by using his/her knowledge of syntactic and semantic structures to build up a set of integrated meanings. If the miscues show heavy use of the graphophonic cueing system, this shows that the reader is not proficient and needs help to read for meaning. If the miscues tend to show a good use of the semantic system, with all three systems operating together,

this shows that the reader is decoding print to get at the underlying deep structures of meaning and is therefore a more proficient reader. [3]

I said above (section 4.1) that it was important to see Cummins as centrally concerned with how to model the development of academic discourse. We can see now more precisely what this can mean for reading events. Miscue analysis "measures" CALP by showing the extent to which the reader is making his/her own sense of a text. Reading a text, context-reduced language according to Cummins, involves bringing ones own experiences to bear in making something of the textual object and also involves developing the reader's cognitive structures, or schemata (Cummins, 1996, 75, 80 & 91).

4.2.3 BICS-CALP and reading pedagogy

In order to develop CALP, Cummins advocates a *reciprocal interaction* model of pedagogy, based on Goodman's whole language approach (Cummins, 1984b, 224). The major characteristics of this model are:

- genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities
- guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher
- encouragement of student-student talk in a collaborative learning context
- encouragement of meaningful language use by students rather than correctness of surface forms
- conscious integration of language use and development with all curricular content rather than teaching language and other content as isolated subjects
- a focus on teaching higher level cognitive skills rather than factual recall
- task presentation that generates intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation

Reading strategies are recommended that are designed to build on what readers bring to a text: for example, reading *shared books* (books jointly constructed by children

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[3]Miscue analysis has also been used in an EAL pedagogical context by others. Wallace (1986), Cline & Cozens (1999), and Rigg (1986 & 1988) use it as a diagnostic tool of particular relevance for EAL learners. Wallace uses an informal version of Goodman's analytic framework to set alongside a gloss on a grammatical description of the child's talk about text. She is thus able to make links between the reader's miscues that are semantic and structural features of the child's talk. A profile is built up of how the reader draws on his/her language resources to read aloud. Cline & Cozens carry out miscue analysis using Arnold's modified version of Goodman's system (Arnold, 1992) to claim that EAL learners tend to rely too heavily on graphophonic and syntactic cues at the expense of semantic cues. They suggest that this may be due to reliance on these strategies at an early stage of learning to read when there is "weak language base" (Cline & Cozens, 1999, 27). Rigg's findings are less definite in relation to this kind of comparison between bilingual and monolingual performances. She looks at the nature of a story used for the analysis and the total number of "semantically unacceptable" miscues scored by different language groups, suggesting that reading difficulty is related to the reader's familiarity with the semantic structure of the story: for some readers the story will be about a "whole different way of life".

and teachers), and regarding reading "errors" as an *interlanguage* rather than signs of incorrect strategies (ibid., 234). Pedagogy is related to individual reading development by asking the question: What kind of strategies can teachers use to bring about the development of pupils' individual reading competencies?

Goodman addresses this question in some detail. Teachers should take an active role in creating relationships of trust and collaboration, "leading by virtue of their greater experience and knowledge" (Goodman & Goodman, 1990, 235). The teacher "initiates" by creating the right conditions for learning. To do this the teacher observes learners' development so that s/he knows when to give support. The aim is to "liberate" learners from the constraints imposed by transmissionist models of teaching, and to allow pupils to learn in their own distinct ways, building on what they bring from outside the classroom. On the one hand we have individual learners who are "developing", working their way towards "making sense" and drawing upon their "authentic experiences" from outside the classroom; and to know more about these processes involves detailed analysis of individual learners' performances (as symptomatic of their competencies). On the other hand, we have teachers who encourage, initiate, lead, observe, support etc.; and we are to regard what goes on in a classroom as exemplifying, or not, these teacher roles.

Cummins is right to defend his theoretical framework against charges that it implies an advocacy of "decontextualised", "formal", learning (e.g. Cummins & Swain, 1983). He makes the point that the model is designed to show how CALP can be located within context (not be stripped of it) so that academic development can be supported. His aim is to chart the way CALP can be developed from where the student is at in his her understanding of texts and the world.[4] With the notion of top down reading and miscue analysis we can see what this means for Cummins. Progress to becoming a better reader - in itself an academic objective for Cummins - necessarily involves charting the sense-making processes that the reader is using. And these involve taking into account the concepts and experiences brought to the act of reading.

It is important to realise here that Goodman and Cummins are constructing two analytic discourses where it might appear that there is only one ("centered on the learner"). The psycholinguistic approach to reading makes a distinction between the events of reading aloud - understood as a manifestation of an underlying individually controlled process - and the teaching strategies that the teacher uses to frame this event. In other words, Goodman's miscue analysis can be described independently of the long term pedagogic "remedies" that it affords. This distinction between analysis of individual learner competence and analysis of pedagogy can be seen in the context of a tradition of educational thought about literacy that views teaching as a facilitating of

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[4] I am not saying, of course, that the notion of supplying contextual support for the development of context-reduced, objectified language (CALP) is unproblematic. Much of chapter 2 aimed to show the difficulties in this approach.

individual pycholinguistic development (e.g. Arnold, 1982 & 1992 and Holdaway, 1979). My point for now is not that this duality of perspectives is in itself a problem, but that this is all there is available in Cummins' framework.

4.2.4 what next?

The basic point about reading as an encounter between a reader and a text acts as a useful corrective to other (e.g. *phonic*) approaches to reading, and this corrective is undoubtedly relevant to EAL pedagogy. But this is only useful in so far as it introduces the agency of the reader and his/her own experiences. The theory fails to take into account other aspects of the encounter between reader and text. The problem arises from only allowing the graphic form of text and the reader's cognitive resources to be taken into account in the analysis of the encounter. We can see this if we return to Goodman's account of his theory of reading. For Goodman reading is a solitary process which depends on an individual bringing his/her own experiences to a text. A text is individually comprehended rather than performed to and with others.

I will be arguing for the importance of understanding what is happening in those practices that Cummins would be uninterested in as a reading and learning activity. In particular, I will try to show that, even though its ubiquity may be problematic, non-diagnostic reading aloud is far from superficial: children and teacher are working hard to do this well and to invest the reading event with meanings that Cummins only partly recognises, if at all. This interaction-oriented approach to data will not necessarily rescue this particular pedagogic practice (and others like it) from criticism. However, I will try to shift the terms of the debate about what is good practice so that more attention is paid to how students and teachers *together* go about making sense of what it is they are doing. The interactional analysis will facilitate the relating of judgements of these practices, and associated pedagogies, to the understandings of the participants rather than by-passing them.

I will now turn to a particular reading event to explore further the nature of the relationship between academic-everyday discourse and the concerns with assessment (section 4.3) and pedagogy (section 4.4).

4.3 miscue analysis of the reading event

Before getting to the analysis itself, I'll firstly say something about the event and two of the students, then describe the mechanics of the particular version of miscue analysis.

4.3.1 the reading event and the students

I will look at one particular set of events, *shared reading* sessions which occurred during the daily *literacy hour*. Each day the teacher worked with a different group, organised according to reading ability, directing students to read aloud and talk about a text. Sometimes the teacher asked questions about the cover of the book before the reading began, and sometimes the teacher stopped the reading aloud to talk about the text - I'll consider this kind of talk a little later.

This particular group, one of the lower ability groups, is composed of six students and the teacher, Mr. E. As miscue analysis is based on an opposition between reading for meaning and reading the graphic form of words, I'll begin by analysing oral readings which seem to exemplify these two styles. I'll look at two students, Christian and Rezwana, reading aloud a cartoon story, "The Boy Who Cried Wolf" (see appendix 2). (I'll say something in chapter 5 about another student's oral reading.)

Christian, a Spanish speaker, had arrived at the school from Peru about one year before. Rezwana, a Bengali speaker, had been in the school since the nursery, but had spent long periods of time in Bangladesh. Although both students were periodically withdrawn from class to work with the EAL teacher, they "lacked English" in different ways. Rezwana was often at the margins in talk and activity: for example, she was sometimes excluded from playground games by her peers, and also from personal or serious talk between playground friends. In interviews other students made jokes about her lack of understanding, and on one occasion she was said to "not know English". Christian, on the other hand, played a central part in playground games, often directing what was to be played in what seemed to be quite a solid and loyal friendship group. He almost always wanted to contribute to talk (inside and outside the classroom), and was generally listened to by other students. During my observations his lack of understanding was never thematised in talk, either in the classroom or playground

4.3.2 method

The aim of miscue analysis is to help us see how a reader calls on his/her own language and knowledge resources to make sense of a text. Miscues are examined to gain insight into the reader's *individual* sense making processes. The analyst asks the question of a miscue: "Why did the reader make this miscue and to what extent is it like the language of the author?" (Goodman & Goodman, 1977, 319). The reader's processes of sense-making are to be found reflected in these differences. Goodman & Goodman's examples of miscue analysis show us readers at work interpreting text, making their own sense of it.

Other analysts have simplified the Goodman's analytic taxonomy. There is a move away from the detailed exploration of how a reader makes sense of a text segment, using data from the post-reading story-retelling, to a more synoptic assessment of a reader' competence in terms of how s/he is using his/her syntactic and semantic knowledge. Arnold's miscue analysis is one such simplification (Arnold, 1982 & 1992), used by Cline & Cozens (1999) in their own analysis of bilingual children's reading miscues. This involves annotating the text that is read aloud according to the following key:

figure 4.1: miscue analysis key

village	non-response
village	substitution
village	omission
the village	insertion
village	self correction
village	hesitation
village	repetition
village	partial reading of word

These miscues are then represented in a table that shows them as positive or negative. All non-responses are negative. Self-corrections (as well as omissions and insertions) are positive if sense is "preserved" or "not altered" (Arnold, 1982, 63) and readers are trying to "get meaning from the text" (Arnold, 1992, 13). These miscues are negative if sense is "destroyed" (Arnold, 1982, 63) and readers are "not looking for meaning, and/or ... the use of cueing systems is unbalanced" (Arnold, 1992, 13).

Substitutions are separately considered. They are categorised according to how the response shows that the reader is using the three cueing systems available. Firstly, a miscue shows that the graphophonic system is being used if the response is graphophonically similar to the original: "does the substitution resemble the word in at least one phoneme/sound?" (ibid., 14). Secondly, the reader is using syntactic cues if the

substitution fits grammatically into the sentence (ibid., 13). Finally, semantic cues are used if the substitution "makes good sense" in the context of what has been read (ibid.). If a substitution comes about through the operation of two or more of these systems, it is positive. If the miscue arises from just one source or none, it is negative.

Other prosodic features stand apart from the main analysis. They are noted but used to make another set of judgements about reading fluency and confidence. Hesitations and repetitions are categorised as *many* ("interrupting the flow"), *few* ("hardly at all"), or *spasmodic* (ibid., 17). Fluency is judged according to whether intonation is good ("natural" and responsive to punctuation), "word by word", or "fluctuating" between these two types (ibid.).

My own analysis will draw on both Goodman's and Arnold's approaches, focusing on: (1) particular miscues to attempt to characterise the personal resources the reader is drawing upon, and then (2) constructing a more general picture about reading competence.

Goodman and Arnold would probably consider this activity inappropriate for finding out about students' reading as the teacher doesn't seem to be listening sympathetically: readers are "interrupted" and not allowed to read in a relaxed way. Also, the text has not been chosen so that the right quantity of miscues are elicited for each particular reader, and thus the data will at times be uninformative for miscue analysis. However, this does not affect the value of my analysis for my purposes as I am not wanting to make *direct* comparisons between an "ideal" miscue analysis and an interactional analysis. My aim, as I have said above, is to get a sense of the kind of descriptions available to a psycholinguistic perspective in characterising the everyday-academic discourse relationship as exemplified in reading. We may imagine all kinds of reading behaviours that these children, in different contexts, may exhibit. However, I am concerned with how these children are able to draw upon their resources in *this reading event*, and how miscue analysis can shed light on this.

In these shared reading sessions, students take turns at reading and each reads several times. I will group together the two readers' reading-aloud performances and deal with them together. I'll then finally make some more general comments about what this kind of analysis can show.

4.3.3 miscue analysis of Rezwana's reading aloud

In order to make my analysis more comprehensible, I'll first present the oral reading alongside the written text. The oral reading is simplified in line with some of the concerns of miscue analysis - I will later (in chapter 5) be using a richer transcription that shows the turns of other participants. Brackets signify that words are supplied by others.

first turn

written text: Nothing ever happens it's so dull and boring!

oral reading: n- nothing ev- every happens it it's so (dull) and boring

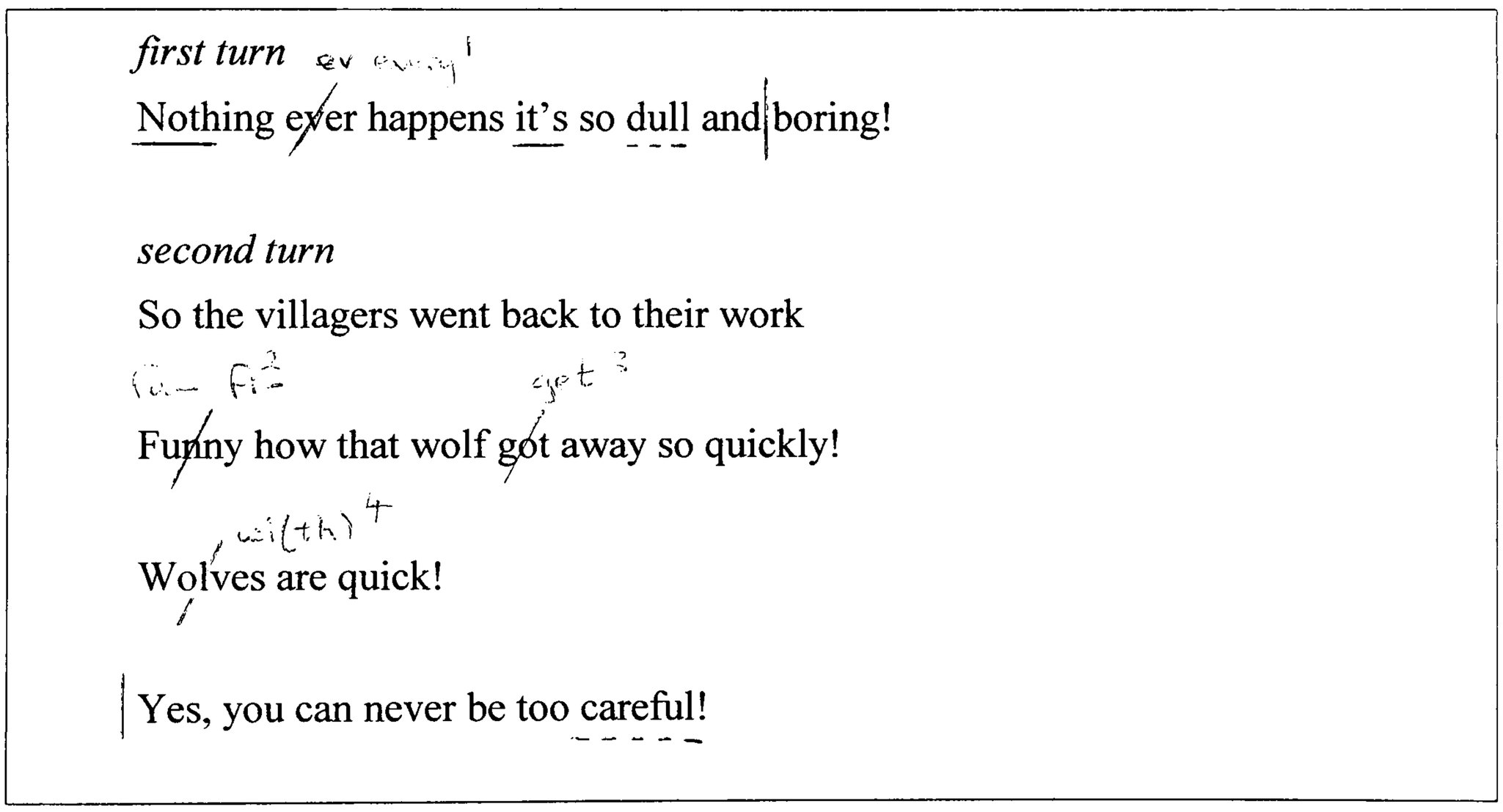
second turn

written text: So the villagers went back to their work. Funny how that wolf got away so quickly! Wolves are quick! Yes, you can never be too careful!

oral reading: so the villagers went back to their work fu- fi- (funny) how that wolf get (got) away so quickly with (wolves) are quick yes you can never be too (careful)

In the miscue analysis below the numbers marked above the text are ways of labelling the miscues so that they can then be easily shown in the diagram below (figure 4.3).

figure 4.2: miscue analysis of Rezwana's oral reading



The following tables are designed to summarise reading strategies. The numbers in the first table signify the quantity of miscues that are positive or negative:

table 4.1: summary of Rezwana's reading strategies

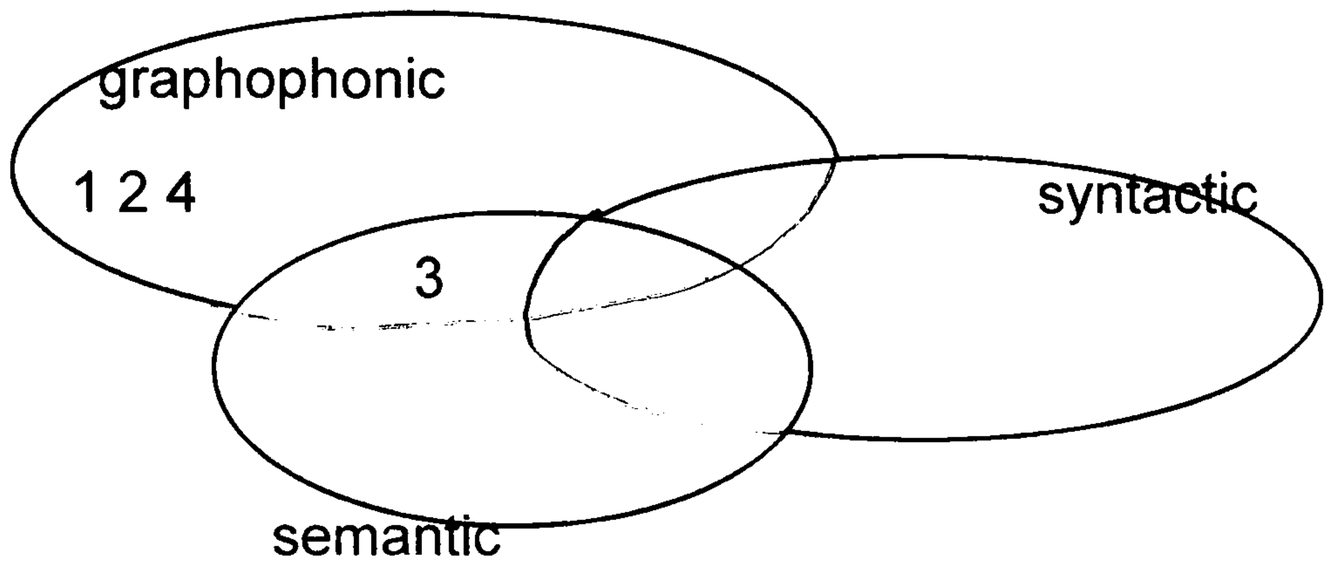
	positive	negative
non response		2
substitution	1	3
omission		
insertion		
self correction		

	many		few
hesitations	yes		
repetitions		yes	

	word by word		good intonation
fluency		yes	

The following diagram shows graphically the balance between the use of types of cues. Numbers identify the substitution miscues marked in the text above:

figure 4.3: summary of Rezwana's substitutions



Rezwana seems to read the graphic form of individual words without using syntactic and semantic cueing systems. The words or part-words that are substituted - "every" for "ever", "with" for "wolves", and "fi-" for "funny" - appear neither to make sense as elements of the story, nor to fit syntactically. There is very little evidence of Rezwana making use of her own knowledge of the world and of language structure to make sense of the text. It is not apparent that Rezwana is constructing her own meanings as she reads. There are also two *non-responses* which confirm this passivity.

4.3.4 miscue analysis of Christian's reading

As before I'll present the text alongside a simplified transcript of the oral reading:

first turn
written text: THE BOY WHO CRIED "WOLF"
oral reading: the boy who reads (cried) bo- bol (wolf)

second turn
written text: Down to the village he raced. Help! Help! A wolf is eating my sheep!
oral reading: down down to the villa (village) he ran (raced) help help a wolf is eating my sheep my sheep

third turn

written text: Up the hill raced the villagers. Hurry, before it's too late! Must be the same wolf. We've got to get it this time! Yes, or there'll be no roast lamb for anyone!

oral reading: up the hill raced the villagers hurry before it's too late must be the some wolf sa- we- we've got to get it hims time yes or there'll buy be buy[5] no roast lamb for anyone

figure 4.4: miscue analysis of Christian's reading

first turn

THE BOY WHO CRIED "WOLF"

second turn

Down to the village he raced.

Help! Help! A wolf is eating my sheep!

third turn

Up the hill raced the villagers.

Hurry, before it's too late!

Must be the same wolf.

We've got to get it this time!

Yes, or there'll be no roast lamb for anyone!

table 4.2: summary of Christian's reading strategies

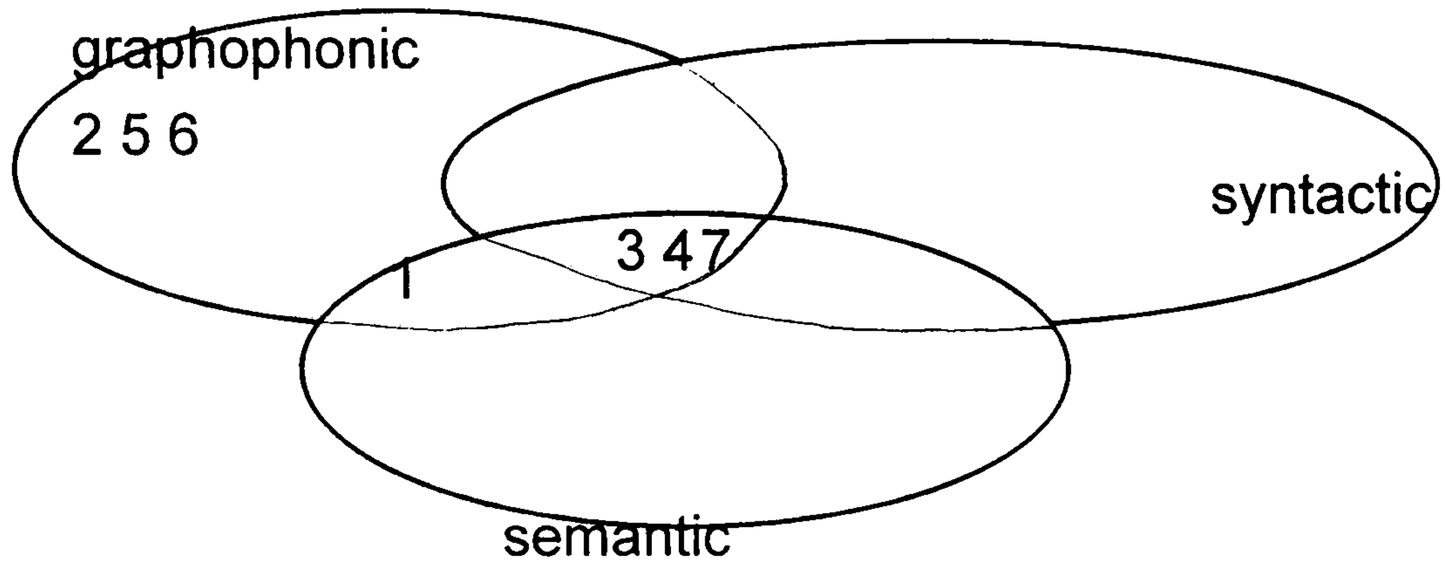
	positive	negative
non response		1
substitution	4	3
omission		
insertion		
self correction		1

[5] "buy be buy" could be represented phonemically as: /bai/ /bi:/ /bai/

	many	few
hesitations	yes	
repetitions	yes	

	word by word	good intonation
fluency	yes	

figure 4.5: summary of Christian's substitutions



Although Christian at times makes substitution miscues which involve sole use of the grapho-phonic system, we can see four instances of positive strategies[6]. I will say something about these.

miscue (1): *written text:* THE BOY WHO CRIED "WOLF" ***oral reading:*** **the boy who reads (cried) bo- bol (wolf)** The "read" miscue perhaps makes some sense in relation to the quotation marks around "wolf" in the text. This is the first oral reading turn and is of the title of the story, and so reading "wolf" may be as sensible a meaning as crying "wolf" as far as Christian is concerned.

miscue (3) & (4) *written text:* Down to the village he raced. ***oral reading:*** **down down to the villa he ran"** Here "villa", understood as meaning some kind of house, fits semantically into the sentence. Although we don't have evidence that this is a meaning that Christian is aware of, or is wanting to call upon here, "villa" is a word in Spanish (and English) that means a kind of house, and so it is possible that Christian is using his linguistic knowledge to create a potentially acceptable word. Of course, if "villa" does mean this for Christian there is perhaps a change in meaning, in relation to the text, as the story involves villagers as protagonists. This kind of reasoning may be helped by getting Christian to retell the story: we would then be able to see if, and how, "villa"

---

[6] Goodman, Watson and Burke (1987) would break down "positive strategies" into two "patterns": (1) those that indicate the reader's concern for "making sense of the text in relationship to expected meaning" (a function of semantic appropriacy, meaning change in relation to original text, and use of correction) and (2) those types of miscue that indicate the reader's ability to integrate syntactic and semantic systems with practices of self correction. Each of these patterns can be strong, partly strong, or weak. For my purposes here this level of complexity is not necessary. The subtlety of miscue analyse - its ability to capture the way a reader is struggling to make different kinds of sense - can be shown in my discussion of particular instances of miscues.

was used on other occasions. So although this reasoning, justifying the kind of meaning invoked, is obviously highly speculative at present, the *kind of claim* is a legitimate one to make within this analytic framework.

The second miscue, "ran", requires less interpretation in order to fit with the syntax and semantics of the read-aloud text.

miscue (7) *written text:* Yes, or there'll be no roast lamb for anyone! ***oral reading:*** **yes or there'll buy be buy** ***(or phonemically: /bai/ /bi:/ /bai/)*** **no roast lamb for anyone** Although I have chosen to categorise "buy be buy" as one positive self correction, from "buy" to "be", and one positive substitution, the first and last "buy", this reading is difficult to code precisely using either the Arnold or Goodman framework. There is a syntactic and semantic fit between "buy" and the last part of the sentence, and also the first part if we view Christian's reading as "yes they'll buy .." (it would be hard to distinguish Christian's pronunciation of the two phrases "they'll" and there'll"). It is possible that Christian is at first reading ahead to "roast lamb": the idea of the villagers buying (or not) roast lamb makes some sense within the story so far. But Christian also shows that he is able to read the word "be" correctly, and so we can recognise that he is performing two different actions here - correcting successfully and producing his own meaning.

But why have I taken Christian to be meaning "buy" with his use of /bai/ rather than to be merely articulating the sound /bai/? Why is Christian not just "mispronouncing"? Again, I have been rather speculative. In line with Goodman my reasoning is based on the kind of sense Christian can be making of this text given his apparent familiarity with the fluently-read words "roast lamb" - words quite possibly on the school lunch menu that he may have read[7] - and his presumed familiarity with the collocation of buying roast lamb, or food in general. We can regard this knowledge, both of the world and of words, as a resource that Christian can draw upon in his construction of meaning here. And the analysis will be as good as the analyst's knowledge of these resources. For Goodman, with the help of a story-retell (although not always) the analyst can interpret the miscue to know something about the reader's sense-making processes, his/her ways of constructing meaning from the graphic text. The miscue itself, that which is different to what is on the page, allows us to start to infer something about the way the reader is using the material text to make his/her own sense.

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[7] During lunch times there was quite a lot of talk about food and this at times involved reference to the menu, attached to the wall of the lunch-room and read by students as they queued.

4.3.5 implications and limitations of this analysis

Christian makes connections within the text itself, so that words hang together to form narrative units, e.g. "down to the villa he ran". He is able to do this because he draws on his knowledge of the world and of language: he situates his textual understanding within an extra-textual context. But Rezwana reads words rather than textual units: we do not see evidence of her making the text coherent. And this is related to her not setting the text within her own past experiences of language and the world.

The analysis so far has shown us different ways Christian might be trying to make sense of the text, using his past experience and knowledge of graphic conventions and lexis. But we can find out more about what Christian is doing here. The analysis of miscue (7) - yes or there'll buy be buy *(/bai/ /bi:/ /bai/)* no roast lamb for anyone - is incomplete. I have coded this miscue in two different ways: as a self correction and as a substitution. But what of the second "buy"? Goodman and Goodman, to my knowledge, do not give guidance on revising a correction, and so far I have said nothing about this aspect of the event. Christian is not just making his own sense of this text segment, in the way already discussed, and then correcting this, but he is returning to his original miscue. It is hard to know how to treat this, and there is some tension within Goodman, Watson and Burke's more comprehensive system of analysis. On the one hand they advocate the coding of only the first miscue (with the presence or absence of a correction). But, on the other hand, they suggest that a range of phenomena - e.g. new miscues made during a correction attempt, repeated miscues, repetition in general, regressions, and pauses - can provide "interesting" information about the reader (1987, 76).

However, an analysis of the use of these features can be usefully added to the main part of the miscue analysis. The above features do not just provide interesting information about the reader, but allow us to see more clearly what the reader is doing on this occasion, one of the aims, after all, of miscue analysis. Indeed, Goodman et al say that "intonation shifts" can be coded and amount to miscues when they change syntax or meaning (ibid, 58). We can go further than this, adding prosody to the above list of features: prosodic features can be considered even when they are not directly involved in the more obvious changes of syntax and semantics attending miscues. In the following chapter I will return to this data to look at how the prosodic features of Christian's reading performance can help us work out what is going on here when he adds the second "buy".

I'll now say something about the pedagogy in this event.

4.4 a whole language perspective on the teacher's involvement in the reading event

Miscue analysis has pedagogical implications, as discussed above (section 4.2). In this section I want to explore these by saying something about the ways the teacher is involved in this shared reading event, using the descriptive language available to Cummins and those whole language approaches to reading that he draws upon. The focus now will be on what the teacher is doing to develop academic discourse.

I will use a similar strategy to the previous section. I will first outline some views on what teachers should do to teach reading in a way informed by Goodman's whole language approach and Cummins's reciprocal interaction model. I will then turn to the event looked at above, to see to what extent the teacher employs this approach. This will involve looking at another part of this reading event not so far looked at, when reading aloud is put on hold and there is teacher-initiated talk about text.

4.4.1 reading pedagogy

I said something in section 4.2 about the place of the BICS-CALP distinction in reading pedagogy: teachers need to encourage readers to make connections between parts of the text, develop CALP, and to make connections between the text and the reader's own experiences, locate CALP in BICS. These two concerns are bound up with one another: one way for a reader and teacher to make intratextual connections is through extratextual and intertextual relationships (although the latter are not really considered by Cummins and Goodman). For example, a teacher may want to precede reading a story about the relationship between mothers and their children with talk about personal experiences of this kind of relationship and talk about other stories that the students know. The question now is: What can Cummins' kind of pedagogy look like at the level of a description of a particular reading-aloud event? To start to answer this question, I will turn to Arnold's (1982) and Wallace's (1986) guides on the teaching of reading. These works are either directly oriented to EAL issues, or have been used for this purpose by others.

Wallace and Arnold argue that the activity of reading aloud needs to be situated within another kind of interaction: the "sharing" of the text between teacher and students. Wallace says:

> We should, I believe, aim for shared reading which, whether pupil to pupil or teacher to pupil, involves interaction, and which is an experience valued and enjoyed ... ; one where perceptions are shared, where real questions are asked and where the 'right' answers are not necessarily knowable. This means accepting that texts may be open to several interpretations. (Wallace, 1986, 46)

To this end the teacher needs to ask certain kinds of questions about the text. As a general rule "what do you think" and "why" questions are better than "what does x

mean" questions (Wallace, 1986, 46). Also, readers should be encouraged to ask their own questions:

> Reading will become part of the general language interaction between pupil and teacher and pupil and pupil. ... Through the interaction the teacher can draw on the added dimension of the child's own experiences outside, but connected with, the text. ... We are therefore thinking of a 'shared reading interview' ... It is clear that such an approach offers a greater emphasis on the content of reading. The session would become a relaxed, and, it is hoped, enthusiastic dialogue between teacher and pupil. Inevitably this type of interview would lead to the development of intermediate and higher order skills ... (the reader) would also begin to appreciate the different levels of interpretation which can operate in understanding text fully. (Arnold, 1982, 82-83)

4.4.2 a particular teaching/learning exchange

I'll now look at the most extended talk-about-text exchange in this event, which occurs very near the beginning of the session and the story. Although Mark's oral reading immediately precedes this exchange, the teacher's questions are directed at all of the students: four out of the six make verbal contributions.

Following the miscue analysis of Rezwana's reading, as well as a preliminary look at the transcript of other students' reading turns (see appendix 4), we might expect the teacher to be encouraging students to make connections between the text and their own experiences. A first look at the data below may suggest that the teacher is indeed using Wallace's and Arnold's shared reading strategies.

talk-about-text (1)

1	Mark	once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy/
2		who lo:::ngs for adventure/
3		what a boring job this is watching silly sheep//
4	Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a boring job/
5	?	( )
6	Mr. E	= watching sheep a:::ll da::y lo::ng,
7	Mark	=ye::s/
8	Mr. E	nothing to do/
9	Marcus	you don't have to watch them//
10		(.5)
11	Mr. E	yeh you do//
		.....
		((Mr. E looks down at book))
12	Marcus	why?

13 Vanderroy just in =case they get out there//=

.....

((Vanderroy points to picture))

14 Mr. E =case there's anima:::::::ls/= or they get out

.....

((Mr. E turns head slightly towards Vanderroy))

15 Vanderroy = li=ke there=

.....

((Vanderroy points to picture))

16 Mr. E = that's ri=ght, and, where do you think this story's happening,

17 ~look at the~ <u>build</u>ings in that = picture whe- /=

.....

((Mr. E points to picture in book))

18 Vanderroy = i know/ greece// =

19 Mr. E and what type of-, wha-, when do you think/

.....

((Mark holds hand up))

20 (0.5)

21 Mr. E now? today?

.....

((Mark keeps hand up))

22 Vanderroy no::://

23 Mark? no:,

24 Vanderroy a long time ago//

.....

((Mr. E looks and nods at Mark))

25 Mark in the olden times//

.....

((Christian looks at Mark))

26 Mr. E = yes / =

27 Vanderroy =ancient greece=

28 Mr. E in <u>ancient</u> greece/ =alright=/

.....

((Christian raises hand))

29 Christian = n / = in victorian times//

30 Mr. E no:/ even long before the victorian times/ about/

31 this was about three thousand years ago//

32 Christian a::h/

33 ? e::h/

34	Mr. E	it was a long long time ago/ carry on reading please marcus//
35	Marcus	eat eat eat / that's all they do all day/
36	Mr. E	carry on rezwana//
37		(1)

Firstly, characterising what is happening here in broad terms, the teacher is making two main moves in the talk, both of which are candidate strategies for linking text to readers' experiences and knowledge.

Firstly, the children are asked if they think the job is boring, and so an opinion, or stance towards the story, is elicited. The aim of this might be to relate the text to the readers' own views on what counts as boring. This may actually come about when Marcus responds: "you don't have to watch them" (line 9). Whatever else Marcus is doing, this turn would appear to express his own stance to the story.

Secondly, Mr. E asks about the time and place of the story. This information cannot be got at through the written text. To answer this question, the readers must use the picture of Ancient Greek buildings and people that they all have in front of them (see appendix 2). This requires using their own knowledge to assign meaning to the text. When Christian does not appear to understand the timescale involved (line 29), this is explained by the teacher, and so the text is placed within a more general framework of historical knowledge.

However, quite a lot has been missed out in this commentary. If we look more closely at how Mr. E is responding to students' answers and how he is controlling the exchange, this talk would seem to be some way from the principles underlying the reading practices outlined by Wallace and Arnold. In particular:

(1) The "opinion-seeking" question about the shepherd boy being bored (line 4) seeks the view that he is bored. The teacher manages the talk in such a way that there is room for only teacher-sanctioned views on the text. The text is not open to several interpretations as far as the teacher is concerned. We see the teacher orienting the readers to only one "shared" understanding, which is his own. The teacher's view on what opinion to have subordinates other possible views, including Marcus's.

(2) The questions about the time and place of the story, although referring to the pictures, do not encourage an interpretive use of these, through which links could have been made between elements of the pictures, written text and students' own knowledge. The opportunity for meanings to be debated and contested is not taken up. The teacher's statement that the story takes place long before Victorian times is not part of an exchange that displays an inferencing process that may serve to facilitate the students' own sense making processes. Mr. E seems to be delivering information to the students, rather than enabling them to bring their own resources to the text. And it is not clear where this information comes from: Mr. E seems to have direct access to knowledge in a way that is not made overt to the students.

4.4.3 implications and limitations of the analysis

These noticings may show us what a shared-reading approach should not be like: a teacher subordinating students' contribution to his own fixed interpretation of what the text means. Wallace (and perhaps Arnold) would say that great care has to be taken to ensure that the local classroom conditions are right for shared reading to take place - for the teacher to take a less authoritative role, by, for example, giving up the right to have the last say on what the text means. And a change like this will have implications for the local organisation of teaching and learning, guided by Cummins' reciprocal interaction model of pedagogy.

The notions of subordination and authority can play an important role in the analysis of classroom talk. Baker and Freebody (1989, and also Baker, 1991), using similar oral reading data to those above, show how teachers position themselves as authorities on a text. The teacher may appear to be questioning pupils to allow them to situate a text in relation to their own experiences, but in fact this is part of a process of text "invasion" (Baker & Freebody, 1989, 266) by the teacher. The teacher tightly controls the way everyday experiences of the children are called upon and applied to the text. There is a consequent interpenetration of textual and teacher authority that subordinates the student's own knowledge to the that of the teacher and text. The teacher acts as a kind of "shuttle service between the story world and the world of everyday life, but rarely makes stops in the classroom itself, or in the text" (Baker, 1991, 176). If literacy is about analysing texts, it becomes difficult to see how these kinds of events involve literate discourse at all, as students are not permitted independent and critical access to the text. The use of students' own personal experiences when combined with teacher-centred evaluation serves to widen the scope of the school's authority rather than to personalise learning.

Baker and Freebody use the following data to make their arguments (which I also cite):

example 1

1 t (commences reading) What sort of train is that? (points to text)
2 p Big?
3 p Little?
4 p Steam?
5 t How do we know it's steamy Jody?
6 p 'Cause of the smoke.
7 t Yes. The smoke here (points to picture).

The students' answers in this segment stand as evidence of the absence of any principled way of determining the meaning the teacher attaches to 'sort' on this occasion. ... We do not know that Jody located 'steam' in any principled way, although the teacher's responses in lines (5) and (7) suggest that Jody could have found it in a principled way: that is, that the smoke in the picture is an obvious and significant clue to describing the train 'correctly' as 'steam'. Just what the students are to have attended to in the picture to arrive at this answer is only retrospectively made available to them by the teacher. (ibid., 268)

In order to answer the above question from the teacher (what sort of train is that?), students need to know what kind of question it is, and this information is hidden from them at the beginning of the sequence. Baker and Freebody argue that this is a general feature in their data. Another example:

example 2

1 t Why is it (the train) getting slower and slower and slower?
2 p Because it's a real steep hill and the carriages might fall off?
3 t It's a very, very steep hill, yes. (resumes reading)
4 p He must be strong.
5 t Yes, he must be! (resumes reading) Who knows why they have tunnels for trains to go through?
6 p To keep them out of the rain.
7 t Does rain hurt trains? Jack?
8 p To go through big hills.
9 t Yes, that's right. If you have big hills like that ... (continues to explain)

> The method of relating text to everyday life through consult-the-text questions alongside consult-your common-sense-knowledge questions also displays the teacher as arbiter in both realms of knowledge, able to cross boundaries with ease. This travelling also imbues the text with a real-life context. However, whether a question is to be answered from the text or from outside is to be decided on each occasion of a question being put. (ibid., 269)

How does the reader know what kind of question is being asked? According to Baker and Freebody s/he only comes to know in the course of the question-answer exchange as it reveals the teacher's thinking and particular reading of the text. At the beginning of the questioning, the student has to guess what the teacher has in mind, and these guesses are confirmed or adjusted as the exchange unfolds. The view that there is an "invasion" of the teacher's thought and readings partly depends on the initial unknowability of the type of question that the teacher is asking: readers are kept guessing at the beginning and so are at the mercy of the teacher's own reading and thinking. The teacher may change frame, from personal experience to text-based talk. One final example:

example 3

t If you had a chance to be one of the things in our story which, or --- someone in the story which would you like to be?
p hh!
t carl?
p The cricket. I mean the big weta.
t The big weta.
p Oh so would I.
t Why would you like to be the big weta?
p 'Cause he comes last.
t He comes last, but what's what happens to him that's so uh good do you think?
p 'Cause he, he gets to stay in bed.
t He gets to stay in bed.

This example is instructive in that the teacher is requesting personal opinions from the students which, it might be thought, are entirely within the discretion of the answerer ... A 'correct' answer to such a question would appear to reside neither in the text nor in the teacher's mind. The teacher nonetheless indicates that there is a proper rationale and frame of reference even for personal

preference. Prior to that specification, no guidance is given as to what grounds students should use to decide their preference.

Thus, while the apparent source of the answer lies in the student's background knowledge, in personal preferences, or in the illustrations in the book ... the reformulative and evaluative utterances of the teacher can be seen to reveal that virtually all of the retrospectively correct or adequate answers are so found in relation to the teacher's ongoing construction of a reading of the story. It is the teacher's 'reading' and the teacher's 'thinking' which are the targets of the students' guesses. (ibid., 277)

I'll return to these arguments and data at the end of chapter 5, but returning now to my own data, what entitles me to talk about subordination? I mentioned two reasons above: the way the teacher disagreed (line 11) with Marcus' view (line 9), and the lack of discussion about the time of the story. But what is it about this disagreement and lack of discussion that leads us to think that there is subordination? Hasn't Marcus, after all, expressed his view, even though it is not agreed with? And haven't the students successfully expressed their ideas about historical time? Perhaps I was being hasty in my comments above (section 4.4.2). We need to look more closely to see what Marcus and Christian are doing with their talk here, and how the teacher responds to these acts.

The above views about the dangers of teachers imposing their own interpretations on others may be generally useful ones to make, but we need to ensure that we have got the points about teacher authority right for the reading event in question. It does seem that the teacher is pushing one preferred stance to the story, that the teacher wants to make a specific link to "general historical knowledge" rather than to approve of a range of interpretations. However, there is still some work to do before getting to the characterisation of the event as involving the teacher *imposing* his own authority over the students' text-interpreting practices. I have only so far given a gloss on what is going on in this exchange. To explore just how teacher control and authority are getting played out here and how this effects the nature of this event as a reading of a text, we need to look much more carefully at how the teacher and students respond to one another in these data.

4.5 conclusion

In this chapter I have:

- identified and explicated Cummins' key concerns - assessing academic language competence and developing EAL pedagogy (section 4.1)
- shown how Cummins draws on theories of reading and reading education (section 4.2)
- operationalised these ideas about reading within a description of a particular oral reading and talk-about-text event (section 4.3 & 4.4)
- identified reading behaviour, repetitions, which could not be coded using the analytic language available (section 4.3.4)

- identified descriptions of pedagogy which relied on notions such as authority and subordination that also went beyond the analytic language available (section 4.4.3)

In chapters 5 and 6 I'll offer a supplementary view of this reading event, suggesting that more work be done to establish how the participants make sense for one another. The basic pedagogic principles of fostering text-text and text-experience links need to be supplemented with an understanding of what these principles mean for the teacher and students in this kind of event. In most applications of miscue analysis, even when teacher strategies are included (e.g. Wallace, 1986), what the teacher does is not related to the actions of the students as they read and talk about a text within the same descriptive account, that is, there is a different analytic language for teacher and student talk. *Rather than ask the question "how can teachers facilitate development of EAL pupils?", I want to now (in chapter 5 & 6) address the question: How can what teachers do be related to, made congruent with, EAL students' sense making practices within the classroom?*

The gaps that have been identified in the above analyses can help to guide answers to this last question. We now have some sense of where to focus an interactional analysis: (1) on ways that oral reading turns are responsive to the audience, and (2) on ways that the teacher uses questions to elicit opinions about the text from the students.

The premature analytic distinction between teacher strategies and reader competence facilitates the application at an early stage of a set of ideals about what *should* be happening here in this event, before we have had a chance to work out what is *actually* going on in the interactions between teacher and readers. Cummins' view is that there should be more "genuine dialogue" in classrooms (Cummins, 2000, 186) (see sections 2.3, and 4.2.3) with teachers and students collaborating in talk, one participant responding to another within an "empowering" relationship. Teacher questions are then measured against a notion of what "why questions" (section 4.4.1), designed to bring about a certain kind of collaboration, should look like without an exploration of how questions actually work in ways which make this collaborative relationship more complex. Similarly, oral reading performances are seen in terms of an expression of what the text means solely for the reader. *By looking in chapter 5 at (1) other ways that questions work, and (2) reading aloud as a joint activity, we will be in a position to modify Cummins' rather idealised notion of teacher-student collaboration and student development.*

5 an ethnomethodological approach to oral reading and talk about text

I outline a different, ethnomethodological, approach to the analysis of reading events, showing how the nature of reading is related to how it is collaboratively performed. I return to the data looked at in the previous chapter, giving a fuller account of the different conversational and prosodic features available to the readers to use as turn-keeping devices. I also return to the same talk about text data, showing how this talk serves to make the event into a collaborative story-telling as well as a display of individual competence. I end by reflecting on how this additional perspective has changed our views of these events: Baker and Freebody's views about this kind of reading as dominating students' own interpretations seem to be merely extended rather than supplemented; and I am not yet able to bring together student performance and teacher strategy within the same analytic framework.

5.1 introduction

In the previous chapter I showed how Cummins' and Goodman's models led to certain assessments and judgements, albeit equivocal, of student competence and pedagogy in relation to an actual event. *The aim of this chapter is to offer an alternative perspective on the same exchanges, and in doing so explore how these assessments and judgements can be supplemented.*

Goodman's psycholinguistic theory of reading sets out to be distinct from, although related to, accounts of pedagogic practice, for example, whole-language pedagogy. Students are seen as individuals building up meanings from the text using their personal cognitive resources. The analytic focus is on a particular text and the encounter at a particular moment between a single student and that text. Reading pedagogy, on the other hand, draws on a different analytic language that describes teacher's general strategies that extend over time.

An ethnomethodological (EM) study of reading takes a very different approach: an educationally relevant theory of reading is to be built up from a study of actual classroom pedagogic practices. Although I will focus my discussion in chapters 5 & 6 on reading, much of what I say can be extended to other classroom practices, and to broader questions about how academic events are constructed from the resources, often talk, available to participants in classrooms (Griffin & Mehan, 1981, Mehan, 1979, McDermott & Gospodinoff, 1981, McDermott, Gospodinoff & Aron, 1978, Erickson, 1982).

Before looking more closely at the data, I will take a step back to prepare the ground. In this chapter I will start by outlining a view of reading as situated practice. I will be drawing on the ideas of Heap (1985, 1990 & 1991), starting with an outline of Heap's view on how the theory-practice distinction needs to be re-fashioned to take

account of the local rationalities of classroom reading practices[1]. I will then say something about how we can start to do this. Having changed perspective - relocated the concern with EAL pupils' academic development within an interactional starting point - I will then return to the reading event, looking firstly at Rezwana's and Christian's (and others') reading-aloud turns, and then at the teacher's interventions.

5.2 reading as situated practice: an ethnomethodological perspective

Heap argues that reading is essentially a cultural rather than a natural phenomenon. Although reading cannot happen without certain psychological processes occurring:

> reading is an activity, and as such is both normative and moral in character. In that it depends on conventions, reading is normative: persons ought and must follow the culture's conventions (or some set of them) in order to recover meaning which they can claim is extractable from some text. (1991, 108)

Arguments in psycholinguistics about which is the best account of the reading process - top down, bottom up, or interactive - assume that there is a single best way to read. These views about how reading should be done are based on partial accounts of how reading *is* done:

> What has not been noticed is that theories of reading formulate moral models of how reading should be done ... The great debate between proponents of different theories of reading has mixed the three issues of how reading can, is and should be done. As a result all sides claim that all reading should be done in the way that their preferred theory claims it can be done. And all sides back up their claim with evidence of how reading has been done in line with their type of theory. The great debate about reading has flourished primarily by assuming that reading can be done, and is done, in only one way. (ibid., 111)

However, reading, argues Heap, is done in many different ways: rather than developing a single general theory of what reading is and should be, we need to understand reading through its different contexts. Reading is bound up with (1) the "materials of reading", what is being read, (2) the purposes for reading, and (3) the normal ways that reading is done (ibid., 112).

The notions of top down and bottom up reading may be useful in describing the norms of reading for a particular text and reading purpose, but these notions have to be relevant to that occasion. We should, then, see these different ways of reading characterized by psycholinguistics, along with many others (e.g. glancing, squinting, secretly looking) as being more or less appropriate depending on what is read and who we are reading with, or to. Norms of reading are bound up with the particular reading acts as they are performed in context:

---

[1] I'll have more to say on the relationship between theory and practice in chapter 7.

> To read well, that is, in a fashion considered normal for fluent readers, is to employ the skills appropriate to the relatively familiar or unfamiliar type and identity of material being read, given some purpose for reading. No theory can be logically sound which formulates reading as rationally employed skills, oriented to conventions of written language and print, yet which excluded the very things that decide for readers what skills to use, and how to orient to conventions. Theorists cannot exclude consideration of familiarity, materials and purposes, yet aim to describe or explain normal forms of reading. (ibid., 119)

According to Heap we should start with understanding the local rationality of the activity of reading aloud: the nature of reading aloud is closely related to the procedures used by the participants for performing the action. To explicate these procedures we need to take account of how reading is being performed by, and to, participants. In other words, if we want to know about the nature of reading, we need to look at what it means *for readers* to read:

> The situated perspective orients to what counts as reading in the settings where persons understand someone to be reading (ibid., 122) ... How does one learn what it is to read, and what counts as reading, criterially? One pays attention to what counts as reading, procedurally (ibid., 128). ... From procedural definitions interactants also learn the moral side of reading: what materials are worth reading, and what is important to look for while reading ... In learning what to look for the interactant learns what reading can be used for, what purposes it can serve. The interactant learns procedurally about just those things which reading theories do not address, but which must be known if one is to apply reading skills appropriately, that is read in a normal fashion. (ibid., 129)

What exactly does this local understanding of reading involve? How do "procedural" definitions add anything to pyscholinguistic theory? What a reader does as a reader consists in his/her relationship with others in the reading event. The reader's engagement with a text is bound up with the interactions with other participants:

> The situated perspective takes it that the scenes of everyday life are deeply social. In living and interacting we are oriented in a variety of ways, and at a variety of levels to the existence and behaviour of others. What we require, and what reading education needs, is a model of classroom sociality which is adequate to, and accounts for task oriented interaction (1990, 55)
>
> (the) learner is now an interactant. Not only is another person taken to be present, it is assumed that the learner interacts with that person, or persons. Learning to read is done, at least partly, through face-to-face interaction. (1991, 129)

In order to exemplify these views, let's turn to the notion of reading miscues. When students perform miscues they are not just displaying their reading competence to the teacher, but they are being heard by other readers. And when the teacher corrects, the corrections affect the way other students understand the original miscue. In other words, the nature of a reading act is determined by what it does as part of an interaction, and how it is understood by other participants. Oral reading corrections are designed to be heard not just by the reader, but by other students who are "reading along". Heap makes this point using the following data (Heap, 1990, 66, citing Hall, 1980):

Ge = George; T = teacher

Ge: "MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS, PRUNFACE," MARTIN CALLED UP AND GOT A KICK OUT OF THE LOOK ON OLD EDMOND'S FACE/
T: /countenance/
Ge: /COUNTENANCE/
T: /What's countenance mean? (...) You said it George, face/
Ge: /face/
T: /right/ /just a big word for face/
Ge /oh/ / Uh hm.

To understand what the teacher's correction here is doing we need to see it in terms of how it is heard by others. The teacher is not just using the miscue as an opportunity to teach a new word, but using the oral reading as a mechanism for this purpose: "You said it George" links the oral reading with the subsequent definition talk, and so George's miscue is used to define a word that otherwise might remain opaque to the students who are reading along.

A similar kind of approach can be taken to talk about text. Reading is made to make sense, not just by participants in terms of what they bring to the text as individuals, but also in relation to the activity of talking about text as members of a group. Heap refers to an exchange in which a teacher questions a student on a text in such a way that the text need to be directly consulted (1985, 260):

T: O.K. thank you. ( ) Alright how long did it take for this bird to get better? ( ) Cathy?
Ca: Um ( ) longer.
T: How long? Go find- find it on the page that Rosella just read.

The teacher is here displaying a method for answering questions, showing all the students how to answer a question by consulting a text. The text is treated as a source of answers to questions about the text.

Another kind of exchange links a textual element to extra-textual knowledge. Participants have to do more than recall textual components. They must use their knowledge of the non-textual world to talk about the text in certain ways (1985, 262):

235 T: /OR EVEN LONGER, right. ( ) O.K. ah- why- why do you think that the *bird*, hen- when Jimmy found it on the dock ( ) why do you think the bird didn't fly away?
?: It couldn't. ( )
T: Or tried to get away.
240 ? =Mn mmnh
T: He couldn't fly because his wing was hurt but why didn't he try to get away from Jimmy.
?: He tried?
T: No he didn't try to
245 ?: didn't try to
T: get away. But why not? ( )
? Oh
T: Katina?
Ka: Jimmy feeds it every day ( ) when it
250 passes by
T: Right so he knows Jimmy doesn't he.
Good for you.

Katina's answer (line 249) uses information supplied by the text, but we can see from the teacher's evaluation in line 250 that understanding this textual component as an answer involves knowing something about the relationship between Jimmy and the bird that is not contained in the text. Heap uses the notion of *cultural logic* to get at the way this inferencing is situated within both the text and a wider set of cultural beliefs. The reader must "take the text off the page and into the culture, to bring to bear the logic and knowledge of that culture" (ibid., 265).

The talk elicited by Mr. E's questions (see data from previous chapter, section 4.4.2) is somewhat different, but I will be taking a similar analytic approach to explore how students and teacher are making sense to each other.

The project of starting with the mechanisms of interaction does not aim to undermine what psycholinguistic theories of reading have to say. These theories may serve as useful models that can inform practice However, they are in need of qualification:

> in spite of their flawed character, current theories are still of use. Indeed, they may become more useful once we begin to understand how to respect their limits. (Heap, 1991, 120)

In the analysis of chapter 4 I tried to show how some of the psycholinguistic theory and whole language concepts can be applied in a limited way to the data. I will now turn to a very different kind of analysis as a way of showing how these concepts can be supplemented.

5.3 interactional analysis of reading aloud

Although in oral reading participants can be performing several actions at once, at least part of what students are doing is to read aloud correctly. For this to be achieved what they do must be recognised by the other participants, most importantly the teacher, as a correct reading. Key questions are: (1) How do participants know when a reading has been judged to be correct (or not)? (2) How do readers take account of this recognition process in the construction of their reading-aloud turns? Disregarding for the moment talk about the text, I will make some observations that can go some way towards constructing an analytic "machinery" (Sacks, 1992) to answer these two questions.

In this section I will firstly make some preliminary remarks about how reading aloud works in this event. I will identify some principles that readers and listeners orient to (to do with how reading aloud is legitimated and modified by both the teacher and other students) and some conversational features that are used to these ends. These will be characterised at first rather broadly. I will later go on to fill in some of the details by looking at the reading aloud of a particular reader, Marcus, who is able to creatively and effectively use those conversational features that I have identified as relevant. I'll then

return to Rezwana's and Christian's reading turns (analysed previously, section 4.3) to observe, more closely than was possible in chapter 4, how they are shaping their reading-aloud turns. Finally, I will make some comments about where this extra layer of analysis gets us.

5.3.1 general framework

In what follows I will be using concepts drawn from CA, and its applications to classroom talk, to explore how readers are shaping their oral reading turns. An important concept for my present purposes is that of *repair* (Schegloff, and Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). This is a more general concept than that of correction, "the replacement of an 'error' or 'mistake' by what is correct" (ibid., 363; see also Jefferson, 1987, 88). There may be repair of talk that seems not to contain an error, and so it is hard to see this as correction: a word can be replaced by a synonym that may be doing the same lexical work as the original word. Also, a repair may take place when there is no replacement of talk. There can be a *word search*, when a speaker is trying to use a word that is unavailable at the time: the speaker lets others know that his/her talk is "in trouble" by, for example, looking away from the listeners. Talk in interaction is repaired when participants *treat* the talk as repairable. It is the participants rather than the analyst that identifies what counts as problematic. So, the notion of repair covers all cases when a participant identifies some kind of "trouble source" in the talk to which other participants can orient to.

There is a preference[2] in casual conversation for self (speaker) correction over correction by other participants. A speaker has an opportunity to self-correct within his/her turn. Other participants, failing self-correction, may *initiate* a repair for the first speaker to complete in his/her following turn. There is a difference between how, and when, self- and other-initiations of repair are performed. Following the trouble source, the speaker, can self-initiate the repair by using a *cut-off* (the beginning of the word is uttered, followed by a glottal stop), a *sound-stretch* (a sound within a word is lengthened), or a non-lexical hesitation (e.g. "uh"), and then s/he can follow this with a candidate self-correction (Jefferson, 1974). Or a repair can be initiated by others in the next turn by, for example, repeating the trouble source. This gives the original speaker an opportunity to self-correct. Other- and self-initiated repair need not be thought of as completely separate options. Goodwin and Goodwin (1986) show how within a word search this process of self-initiation and repair is intensively monitored by other participants: a search for an elusive word may start off as the exclusive concern of the

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2 *Preference* does not refer to the motivations of the participants, but to the sequence- and turn-organisational features of conversation. (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977, 362).

speaker but then be developed into a task open to the other participants; and so what may start off as self-repair may be developed into a request for help.

Although reading-aloud is quite a distinctive event, it draws on certain norms of classroom discourse. In classrooms it has been observed that there are distinctive turn taking conventions (McHoul, 1978 & 1990, and Mehan, 1979). The teacher often not only controls to a large measure who speaks next, but evaluates what is said. How does this affect the procedures of repair and correction?

In classrooms. there can be far more tolerance of intra-turn pauses because the student is often given sole use of the floor to answer a question. The student still needs, however, to actively keep the floor in the face of difficulty in searching for an answer, which can be viewed as a word-search and thus self-initiation of repair (of an inability to give an answer): for example, McHoul's data show sound stretches, non-lexical hesitations (e.g. e:::r), and devices such as "well" (1978, 194-5) used within turns that contain fairly long silences.

These considerations can be applied to reading aloud. Readers are expected to produce a correct reading for the teacher and in the face of difficulty - searching for words which are to be found within written text - the above concepts become analytically useful. I'll now outline four broad principles that readers orient to in the data, before seeing in more detail how these work in particular interactions.

5.3.1.1 other-correction

A word that is regarded as incorrectly read aloud is open to correction by the listeners (mainly the teacher, but sometimes other students) immediately after the trouble source. (Sometimes, more rarely, correction follows after a subsequent read-aloud word.) Unlike many other forms of interaction in which there is a preference for self-correction, there is always the possibility that a read-aloud word will be immediately corrected by others, thus bringing the reader's turn to an end. This means that a reading-aloud turn can be as short as one word. The turns are always vulnerable to correction by listeners who can reduce the length of the reader's turns. The teacher, or another student, often makes the correction by saying the corrected word.[3] The reader then usually repeats the corrected word (or words) straight away, sometimes stopping his/her own reading of a subsequent word to go back to the corrected word in the text, for example:

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[3] On two occasions the teacher prefaces his correction with an evaluation ("uh uh" or "no"). I'm not sure why this happens.

Rezwana (2)[4]

12 Rezwana =funny/ how/ that/ wolf/ get/
13 ? got/
14 Rezwana =awa- got/ away/ so/ quickly/

Emmanuel (1)

9 Emmanuel wickt/ (1) and at once a wickt tor
10 Mr. E =wicked,
11 Emmanuel wicked tor/

Christian (2)

2 Christian down, do::wn to the (1) villa,
3 Mr. E =village=
4 ? =(vill)age=
5 Christian village he ran//
6 Mr. E uh uh, he = raced =
7 ? = raced =
8 Christian he raced// help, help, a wol- a wolf, is eating, my cheep, my cheep//

There is a tendency, a preference, for other-correction, rather than an invariably followed rule. For example, on one occasion the repair is not repeated by the reader, showing that he does not recognise the correction:

Mark (3)

4 Mark and once again all was peaceful and still, where's the wolf, e:::r
5 s:::::inger = i =
6 Mr. E = snigger=
7 Mark i guess it ran away again, i think i'm having a heart attack//

Mark returns to read aloud the word "i" in line 7 that has been overlapped by the teacher's attempted correction, "snigger" (line 6), rather than repeating the word offered as the correction. Mark is making a repair, but he is repairing the problematic overlap of "snigger" and "i" rather than his original "s:::::inger" (line 4). Thus Mark does not just fail to respond to the teacher's correction, but recharacterises it by treating it as an interruption of his continued reading, which is then repaired.

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[4] Numbers in brackets refer to reading turn, so this is Rezwana's second turn. See appendices 3 & 5 for complete transcripts.

5.3.1.2 self-correction

In the face of difficulty over a word, a reader can make an attempt at self-correction. The reader interrupts him/herself to initiate a repair. This self-interruption can take a variety of forms. For example, an attempt at the word is made by starting to read the word that is proving difficult (or the word before it), and then performing a cut-off: the sound ends abruptly with a glottal stop and there is a rising or level intonation which signals incompleteness Other participants who follow with a correction run the risk of being reprimanded for not giving the reader enough time. In other words, these self-initiations of repair signal that the reader is "still at work" and the turn belongs, for a limited time, to the present reader. This has two important consequences. Firstly, the reading of only part of a word is not immediately responded to with a correction. Secondly, any silence that may follow is a "pause" rather than a "gap" (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977): it is part of the reader's turn rather than a space between turns. For example:

Christian (3)
9 Christian up the hill, raced **the-**[5] (1) villa(ches)//
.....
19 Christian =or **the::re'll** (.5) **by-** be (.5) buy no roast lamb fo:::r (1) anyone//

Marcus (2)
2 Marcus but of course **all-** (.5) but of course/ (1) **all::** was peaceful up (the)
3 meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::,

Mark (1)
4 Mark once there was a **bo:y-** (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy, who lo:::ngs for 5 adventure, what a bo:::ring job this is/ watching silly sheep//

Other conversational features used for self-repair - repetition, sound-stretches, and intonation - are used together with cut-offs in rather complex ways. We can see repetition and sound-stretches at work in the above data. I'll say more about these features below.

5.3.1.3 self-initiation of other-correction

There is always the possibility that reading-aloud turns that start off as self-initiations of repair can turn into other-correction if self-correction is unsuccessful.

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[5] Text in bold represents those features of talk just discussed.

One reader in particular, Vanderroy, tends to seek other-correction from the outset of his turn. When Vanderroy encounters a reading difficulty, he appears at first glance to respond in similar ways to some of the other self-correcting readers in the group, using a cut-off on two occasions and repeating words:

Vanderroy (1)
4 Vanderroy then one day he said/ (2) **out-** out//
.....
10 Vanderroy #**if** on (.3) **if**/#
.....
28 Vanderroy =would be **excellen-** (no)/

Vanderroy (2)
12 Vanderroy rest/of/ (.5) the day/ laughing/ (2) **i**, (2) # **i** // #

But if we look more carefully at what Vanderroy is trying to do with these devices we see that he is not using them as turn keeping strategies, but aiming to give his turn up. As he says the second "out" in reading (1) (line 4) it is clear from the video recording that he shakes his head. The intonation falls on the second "out", signalling completion of an attempt:

Vanderroy (1)
4 Vanderroy then one day he said/ (2) **out- out//**

.....

((Vanderroy shakes head on second "out"))

5 (1)
6 Mr. E #loud#,
7 Vanderroy loud//

His repetition of "if" (line 10, below) is said very quietly, and follows an attempt at "only" which produces a word in its own right, "on", rather than a cut-off. The repetition thus has the effect of requesting a correction rather than signalling another attempt. Again, Vanderroy is telling others that he knows he has got it wrong and is providing space for them to supply the correction:

Vanderroy (1)
10 Vanderroy **#if on (.3) if/#**
11 Mr. E = =if = only
12 Mark =sir=
13 Vanderroy =only/ a/

The "excellen-" (line 28, below) although sounding more like a repair initiation (as the word is displayed as incomplete), is followed by a self-evaluation, "no", with a falling tone: Vanderroy is telling the others that he knows he has got it wrong, and that this is all he can do. Instead of saying "no" at this point he could have gone back a word or two to have another try. Instead, he chooses to let the others know that what *could* be viewed as a continuing attempt is, as far as he is concerned, an incorrect reading.

Vanderroy (1)

28	Vanderroy	=would be **excellen- no//**
29	Mr. E	exciting/
30	Vanderroy	exciting//

The repetition of "i" (line 12, below) is quietly spoken with a falling intonation and is responded to by Colin supplying the next word. For some (unknown) reason Vanderroy still has difficulty and a gap follows. Vanderroy again reads "i", and the next word is again supplied, by both Christian and Mr. E:

Vanderroy (2)

12	Vanderroy	rest/of/ (.5) the day/ laughing/ (2) **i, (2) # i // #**
13	Mr. E	really,
14		(2)
15	Vanderroy	# i #
16	Mr. E	i,
17		(1)
18	?	= really,=
19	Mr. E	= really,=
20	Vanderroy	really, (1) tricked them ha ha//

5.3.1.4 readers' pauses

Following a successfully read-aloud word or phrase, a silence - especially one that has not been preceded by a self-initiation of repair - may be taken to be in need of repair by others. Thus the silence becomes a pause which can be regarded as the reader's failed attempt at reading (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, 715). Listeners then supply the one word that comes next. Readers and listeners are again (see above, 5.3.1.1) oriented to repair at the level of individual words:

Vanderroy (2)

2	Vanderroy	and the/ **(3)**
3	Mark	shepherd/

4 Vanderroy	shepherd boy/ **(1)**
5 Mark	spent/
6 Mr. E	sp= ent =/
7 Vanderroy	= we- = spent/ (.5) the/ **(1)**
8 Emmanuel	rest
9Vanderroy	rest/of/ (.5) the day/ laughing/ (2) i, (2) # i / #

I'll now give some more detailed analyses of particular exchanges. (These can be located within the event as a whole by consulting appendix 5).

5.3.2 interactional analysis of reading aloud performances

I will first look at parts of Marcus' oral reading turns as he uses a variety of resources to engage with difficulties in reading aloud. This first analysis can provide an illustration of what is possible.

5.3.2.1 Marcus

I'll focus on a particular instance of Marcus's self-initiation of repair. I will trace its development from self-initiation to other-correction, showing how Marcus is able to use various conversational resources to control the way other-correction happens.

written text:

But of course, all was peaceful up in the meadows.

Where's the wolf?

Looks as though we frightened it off!

oral reading:

Marcus (2)

1 Mr. E	carry on marcus,
2 Marcus	but of course all- (.5) but of course/ (1) all:: was peaceful up #the#
3	meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::, (1)
4 Mark	through
5 Marcus	= ~ where's the wolf~
6 Mr. E	looks as though,
7 Marcus	looks as thought = we = frightened it off//
8 Mark	= no =
9 Mr. E	and did they frighten it off?

After an unproblematic reading of "where's the wolf" in line 3 there follows a series of turn-keeping moves in the face of difficulty with the word "though". The repair of this is eventually performed by others, and Marcus continues with his reading: "looks as thought we frightened it off" (line 7). I'll first deal with the interaction up to Mr. E's correction (line 6).

Marcus works hard to self-initiate a repair. In line 3 we see Marcus using a sound stretch on "looks", cutting off on "as", and then repeating "looks". At the end of line 3, other-correction - by supplying the word "though" - is made less likely because Marcus has repeated the word "looks", which occurs in the text before the word he has last read and self-interrupted, "as". He is showing others that he is still at work on a section of text:

written text:
Where's the wolf?
Looks as though we frightened it off!

oral reading:
3 Marcus meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) **look:s:: as-** (.5) **looks::**, (1)

But a pause then follows (end of line 3), and this allows Mark to supply the word "though" (line 4). This is not treated as a correction by Marcus. Instead he goes back to read in even earlier part of the text, still holding on to his rights to keep working at the problematic section:

3 Marcus meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::, **(1)**
4 Mark **through**
5 Marcus = ~ **where's the wolf~**

But what *is* the problem now? It is to read a section of text beginning with "looks as". At the moment Mr. E offers his prompt of "looks as though" (line 6), Marcus has shown that he is *almost* able to read this phrase: Marcus' treatment of the problem brings about Mr. E's focus on this phrase. Although participants know that Marcus can read "looks as", Mr. E still says the complete expression, "looks as though". This is because Marcus is treating his reading as a reading of units that are longer than words, and does so specifically here through his use of repair self-initiation resources. If Mr. E wants to repair after Marcus' repetition of "where's the wolf" (line 5) - and there is a good reason to do so because at this point Marcus has had three attempts at the problem word - he is encouraged to give a phrase rather than a word. By repeating text, and using cut-offs and sound stretches, Marcus has not just given himself more time, but created a way for others to give him help.

Following the repair "looks as though" from Mr. E (line 6), Marcus continues with two parallel intonation units - I'll elaborate on this in a moment - that incorporate the repair into the larger structure, "looks as thought we frightened it off".

6 Mr. E looks as though,
7 Marcus looks as thought = we = frightened it off//
8 Mark = no =

"Thought" is responded to as incorrect by Mark, but his evaluative "no" is unacknowledged. In fact it is overlapped by Marcus' continuation of his reading. So, although in some senses Marcus has been held up by one word, "though", his own alignment to the correction process has made this into a collaborative reading of an entire unit rather than just a faulty reading of an individual word.

Marcus controls other-correction through his use of intonation. Much of Marcus' reading aloud follows a similar intonation pattern: there is a high tone on the first or second syllable and the tone unit ends with a high or low falling tone. But to just make this point is to view Marcus's intonation as a finished product. There is an additional striking feature which helps to coordinate Marcus' reading turns with other participants' repairs. Marcus creates connections between stretches of his reading turns by using rhythm and intonation to set up parallel structures. Below we see "eat eat eat" as one tone unit with a high tone on the first syllable (the *head*), a high tone on the second syllable (but slightly lower than the first), and a *low fall* on the third (the *nucleus*)[6]. Then, the next part of the read-aloud text, "that's all they do all day", mirrors this rhythm with three similar tones on "all", "do" and "day":

(a) ' eat ' eat eat |

(b) that's ' all they ' do all day |

Another intonation pattern can be seen emerging in the reading turns that I have been discussing. Units (c) and (e) (below) have two accents, with a high tone on the first and a high falling tone on the last. Lines (d) and (f) start with a high tone on the first syllable, with falling tones on subsequent accented syllables until there is a final low fall:

---

6 I will use O'Connor & Arnold's (1973) system for my rather broad analysis of intonation. See appendix 1 for transcription conventions. Of course, my analysis is only a beginning.

(c) ' but of course |

(d) ' all was °peaceful ◦ up the meadow |

(e) ' where's the wolf |

(f) ' looks as °thought we °frightened it off |

This is, of course, an idealised version of the prosody of these utterances, with repairs edited out. I'll now try to show how reader and listeners orient to this pattern in two ways, and how prosody is used together with the other features looked at above. Firstly, returning to the beginning of the reading aloud turn and starting with units (c) and (d):

written text:
But of course, all was peaceful up in the meadows.

oral reading:
Marcus (2)
1 Mr. E carry on marcus,
2 Marcus but of course all- (.5) but of course/ (1) all:: was peaceful up #the#
3 meadow/

Marcus starts the reading (line 2) by self-repairing. After reading "but of course", there is a glottal stop on Marcus's reading of "all" and he then repeats "but of course". This is a repair of the intonation Marcus has used, probably responding to the presence of a comma between "course" and "all". The intonation is changed from a fall-rise tone to a high fall on "course", thus creating two intonation units, (c) and (d):

(c) ' but of course all- | (.5) ' but of course |

(d) ' all was °peaceful ◦ up the meadow |

Secondly, as we have seen, although reading "looks as though we frightened it off" poses problems for Marcus, he eventually produces the intonation unit (f) (in line 7) that is in parallel with what has gone before, beginning on a high tone and ending on a low-fall.

written text:

Looks as though we frightened it off!

oral reading:

Marcus (2)

3	meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::, (1)
4 Mark	through
5 Marcus	= ~ where's the wolf~
6 Mr. E	looks as though,
7 Marcus	looks as thought = we = frightened it off//

In order to get a sense of the way prosody is playing a role here, I want to focus on Marcus's repetition of "where's the wolf" (line 5) and the following two lines (lines 6 & 7). I argued above that Marcus has, through his use of self-initiation techniques, guided Mr. E's correction so that it involves providing the whole phrase "looks as though". We can see intonation doing the same kind of job. Marcus has established a partial intonation pattern in units (c), (d) and (e):

(c) but of course |

(d) all was peaceful up the meadow |

(e) where's the wolf |

Marcus has then let the listeners know that he has a problem with reading and that he is working on self-correction:

3 meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::, (1)

Then Marcus repeats (in line 5) the intonation unit (e) which is in parallel with the first part of the previous prosodic pattern, unit (c). Mr. E's repair of unit (f) (line 6) is consistent with this parallelism: his "looks as though" prosodically parallels Marcus' earlier "all was peaceful", unit (d). Then, Mr. E's repair is repeated by Marcus who goes on to complete the pattern. Here is the whole sequence, from the beginning:

(c) Marcus but of course |

(d) Marcus all was peaceful up the meadow |

(e) Marcus where's the wolf |

(e) Marcus where's the wolf |

Mr. E looks as though |

(f) Marcus looks as thought we frightened it off |

There are two main points I want to draw out through my analysis of Marcus' oral reading turns. Firstly, even though the reader is vulnerable to correction in the face of difficulty over the reading of one word, he can, through the use of self-initiation devices and prosody, still retain quite a lot of control over how the correction is to be performed. The boundary between self and other correction becomes rather blurred. Secondly, through this development of other-correction from self-initiation, the trouble source becomes embedded within a turn that is longer than one word. A reader is always vulnerable to immediate correction following a trouble source (a faulty reading or a pause). Here Marcus is able to protect his turn from this kind of word-by-word focus. Although he is corrected by others, this does not mean that his reading-aloud turn is shortened to a one word utterance.

5.3.2.2 Rezwana

Repairs look rather different during Rezwana's oral reading. There is a fairly common pattern of sound stretch + pause + other-correction:

Rezwana (1)

5 Rezwana ever, happened/ it/ it's/ **so:::, (1)**

....

((Rezwana moves body forward on "it's))

6 Mr. E **dull/**

7 Rezwana =dull/ and/ (.7) boring/

Rezwana (2)
3 Rezwana **so:::/ (.3)**
4 ? **#the villagers,#**
5 Rezwana =the::/ villagers/ went/ back/ to/ their/ work//
.....
16 Rezwana wolves/ o::r/ quick/ (.5) **y::es/ (.5)**
17 Mr. E **#you can = ( )#=**
18 Rezwana = you= can/ never/ be:::/ **too:::/ (1)**
19 ? #care#
20 Mr. E **careful,**
21 Rezwana = careful/=

It may be thought at first that Rezwana is using the device of a sound-stretch to initiate a self-repair. But we can quickly see that nothing more is done by Rezwana to manage this. The supply of the next word comes after a short pause of between 0.3 and 1 second. Compare Marcus' use of a variety of conversational features and patterns that we have just been looking at above. In Marcus' case the sound stretch is an early indication of what becomes a relatively elaborate repair sequence.

We can also compare Rezwana's above reading aloud with two other occasions when there is a pause following Rezwana's reading aloud of a word with no sound-stretch:

Rezwana (2)
5 Rezwana =the::/ villagers/ went/ back/ to/ their/ **work// (3)**
6 ? **#(funny) = h( )#=**
7 Rezwana =fu- fi-=
.....
12 Rezwana =awa- got/ away/ so/ **quickly/ (2)** wi(th)/

In the above two exchanges the other participants give Rezwana more time to read the next word than when she uses a sound stretch. The device of a sound stretch, then, acts more as a cue for the supply of help from others. Or to be more precise, the sound stretch provides advance notice of a difficulty that the listeners respond to more quickly than they might without the sound stretch.

It is hard to detect intonation units in Rezwana's reading. Each word has an equal stress with generally a falling pitch. This lack of an intonation contour has implications for the nature of repair. We saw that Marcus was able to use intonation to influence the way a repair was performed. Rezwana's word-focused intonation, with each word receiving the same attention, tends to orient her listeners to problems solely at word level. Rezwana's reading is a series of discrete, word-based, elements.

5.3.2.3 Christian

In chapter 4 (section 4.3.4) I claimed that miscue analysis had difficulty with characterising Christian's /bai bi: bai/ sequence. I'll return to the line in which Christian self-corrects his "miscue", this time looking more closely at prosody and other conversational features.

Christian (3)
9 Christian up the hill, raced the- (1) villa(ches)//
10 Mr. E villagers//
11 Christian villag#ers,# (1) hurry/ before it's too la#te//# (3) must be the some
12 wolf/ (.5) sa- we- we've,
13 Emmanuel we have,
14 Christian we've got/ we've got, to get it hims (.3) time//
15 (1)
16 ? yes
17 Christian =ye::s,
18 Mark =yes,
*19[7] Christian =or the::re'll (1) by-, be. (1) buy no roast lamb fo:::r (2) anyone//

I'll be drawing upon the work of Local and Kelly on the ways speakers signal turn-continuing and restarting through prosody (Local, 1992, & Local & Kelly, 1986). Also, I'll be taking a different analytic approach to intonation. Instead of using a system (c.f. O'Connor & Arnold, 1973), I will represent prosody phonetically[8]:

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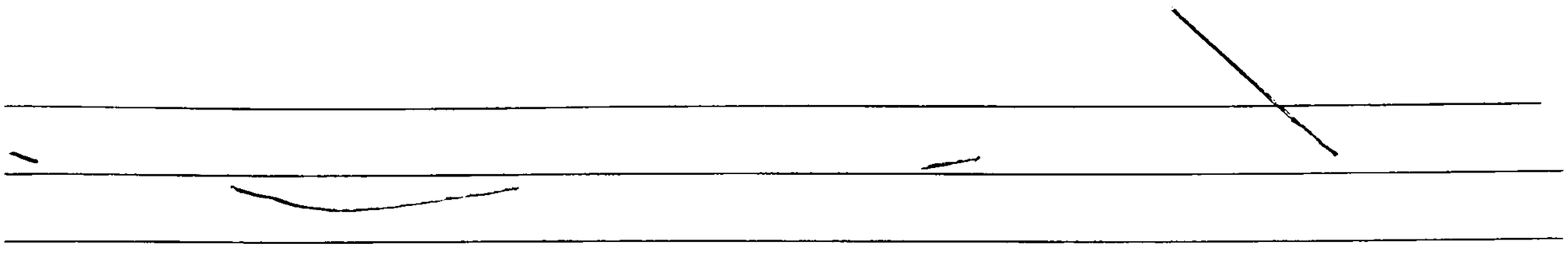
[7] An asterisk signals a line that is most relevant to the discussion.
[8] See Local, Wells & Sebba (1985) on "impressionistic phonetics".



By attending to prosodic features, we can see that line 19 can be divided into three segments:

(1) **or there::'ll (1) buy-,** In the initial part of this section pitch is mid-level with a fall-rise on "there::'ll". There is a sound-stretch that provides an early indication of difficulty and a cut-off (glottal stop and rising intonation) on "buy". These features project the continuation of Christian's turn: he is still at work on reading the word "buy". Any silence that follows this feature would belong, for a short while, to Christian.

(2) **be.** In fact there is no pause: the utterance "be" follows. This has a higher, falling, pitch and greater volume. It is thereby marked off from what has preceded: Christian is interrupting himself.

(3) **(1) buy no roast lamb fo::r (2) anyone.** The second "buy" has a lower pitch and volume than the previous word, "be", and so what follows is separated from what immediately preceded. (There is also a pause that serves to do this.) There is a prosodic similarity that links this second "buy" to the first part of line 19, "or there::'ll (1) buy-": the second "buy" continues the same mid-level pitch and volume as the first cut-off "buy". And so this unit is a continuation of the first and confirms that the second has been a self-interruption. It is also intonationally grouped with what follows: "buy" (/bai/) does not stand on its own as a sound or word, as "be" (/bi:/) does, but is part of a larger prosodic unit, "buy roast lamb for anyone", that continues what went before "be".

I have already shown what it means for a miscue analysis to identify the different, but at times integrated, concerns for getting the words and syntax right and for attending to meaning (section 4.3.4). We are now able, by looking at the interactive nature of prosody, to extend this concern and identify a concern for accuracy and

meaning within two *complementary* actions during reading. The question is begged: If we can see that Christian is shaping his turn to combine the tasks of "getting the words right" and "getting the sense right" in a particular way, what more can we say about this? In other words, how do the features pointed out above add to the previous characterisations of the miscues (in section 4.3.4) as accuracy and meaning-focused?

What is Christian attending to as he "shapes" his reading in this way? In the first prosodic unit he is letting the other participants know he is working on getting a word right, and so although he has uttered /bai/, there is more to come, although we do not yet know just what this is (Jefferson, 1973, 187). And so his own utterance becomes less vulnerable to correction by other participants. The second unit, /bi:/, that which delivers the accurate reading, stands apart from what precedes, as a correction of a miscue. At this point, then, Christian has let his listeners know that he has committed an error and has repaired this error: *word 1 + cut off + word 2* conforms to Jefferson's *error correction format* (Jefferson, 1973). In the third unit /bai/ is separated from this action of self-correction and shows itself as a continuation of what went before the self-correction. It is a repetition of the first "buy", but now unmarked as an error.

So, Christian's sense-making reading frames his concern with accuracy. His "reading for meaning" is broken off and then resumed, and his concern for accuracy is an aside or self-interruption: Christian is showing other readers that he is aware of the need to get words right, but *before and after* this he is concerned with his own way of making sense of the text. On this occasion these two different tasks could have been in competition. He has a dilemma: if he were to leave his error unrepaired, he is likely to have it repaired by others, and if he simply repairs it himself he will compromise his own alternative reading. By performing an error correction and then going on to reinstate the original reading as a non-error, Christian solves this problem.

I have looked at the way intonation has contributed to the way a part of an utterance is marked off as different from the rest of a prosodic unit. Also, in the same way as with Marcus' turns, we can see Christian creating expectations about how a reading aloud turn will sound. At times Christian, although reading quite slowly, creates a pitch contour by using a rising or high level tone early in the unit, maintaining this high pitch, and then using a pitch fall at or near the end to signal temporary completion. Although intonation is not particularly varied, it is being used to create cohesion between elements of the reading. We can see Christian working to create this pattern when he repeats "we've got":

Christian (3)

11	Christian	villag#ers,# (1) hurry/ before it's too la#te//# (3) must be the some
12		wolf/ (.5) sa- we- we've,
13	Emmanuel	we have.
14	Christian	**we've got/ we've got,** to get it hims (.3) time//

The first time Christian reads "we've got" (line 14), following a repair, it has a falling tone. The utterance is then repeated with a rising tone that is sustained until the final fall near the end of the unit. Returning once more to Arnold and O'Connor's system:

we've got | we've got to get it hims time |

The prosodic contour of "buy no roast lamb for anyone" in line (e) (below) is not only congruent with "or they'll buy", but also follows the pattern of the previous lines. Again, applying O'Connor and Arnold's systemic approach to intonation, and "tidying up" the data, Christian's reading turn looks as follows:

(a) up the hill raced the villagers |

(b) hurry | before it's too late |

(c) must be the some wolf |

(d) we've got | we've got to get it hims time |

(e) yes | or there'll buy | be | buy no roast lamb for anyone |

The miscue analysis of these data involved making judgments both about the kind of sense I (as analyst) thought Christian made and the kind of sense he *can* make, the resources he can draw upon (e.g. his association of "buy" with "roast lamb"). I have started to extend the nature of these resources to the interactional context in which the reading is performed. The reader not only constructs his/her own sense, understood with reference to his/her own background, but is displaying this to others.

We can now see why miscue analysis can run into difficulties, finding it hard to come to a final decision about the nature of a particular miscue; it is sometimes difficult to see where a miscue ends and "extraneous" performance features begin, for example repetition. Has Christian self-corrected, because he initially replaces a miscue with the correct version, or has he failed to self correct because he goes on to read his original miscue? It is impossible to say whether Christian's preferred reading is "buy" or "be" in the above data, and this ambivalence is made to do work: on the one hand Christian has self-corrected by interrupting his own reading; but on the other hand he gives an account

of his "error", using prosodic cues to instruct his audience to hear /bai/ in a particular way.

5.3.3 the implications and limitations of this analysis

The miscue analysis carried out earlier pointed to Rezwana's over-reliance on graphophonic cues and Christian's greater use of semantic cues. The present analysis has drawn attention to a number of conversational features that were generally ignored by miscue analysis or glossed over as a feature of fluency. These features are significant in that they are used by readers to hold on to their turns, and to gain more time to get the reading right. Unlike miscue analysis which views meaning as "deep" - as underlying the action of reading, as an often unconscious resource - we see here meaning produced by "surface" features of performance.

Marcus is able to produce fairly long reading turns. We have seen how he uses intonation to set up parallel patterns between adjacent units. His sophisticated turn-keeping strategies of re-running previously read sections of the text, and combining these with sound-stretches and cut-offs, also show him orienting to the same units that he is creating through intonation. His use of these features enables him to present himself as a certain kind of independent reader: he may get things "wrong", and have to respond to corrections, but he is able to avoid being supplied with the text too early. Although Rezwana uses sound stretches to hold on to her turns, these are word-based strategies, congruent with Rezwana's tendency to use short tone units, often of just one word. Rezwana is presenting herself as a reader capable of working at getting words right. This makes her more open to early other-correction. Christian shows that he can design a reading-aloud turn that resembles the more extended performance of Marcus. In the data looked at above we saw that he used a combination of strategies to successfully keep his turn and self-correct: cut-offs, sound stretches, and intonation. Christian is seeking to create units that are longer than words, and so he is a similar kind of reader to Marcus. We can, then, start to see how readers are positioning themselves as different kinds of participants within this event, relying on other-correction to different extents and in different ways.

What makes these observations interesting? What more can this approach tell us about this particular event and these particular students' actions? Does this extra performance-oriented analysis, as well as suggesting that there is another level of meaning that students and teacher are orienting to, make us want to revise the picture gained solely from the miscue analysis? I have already established, I hope, that the differences in the ways students are taking part in this event are significant *for them*, and *for the teacher*. (The students are controlling how their reading will be heard by others, and so the teacher adjusts his ways of responding to the students' turns at reading according to the ways students shape their reading.) But can these differences take us

along different lines of enquiry - do they have different pedagogical implications - to those suggested by miscue analysis?

At the moment, although I have added another richer layer of description by starting to study part of this event as an interaction, it is hard to say what this extra analysis amounts to, that is, how it can make us better understand this as an educational task. In fact, so far I have not really been able to take the miscue analysis much further forward: it is difficult to see what has been added to the earlier distinction between word-based and meaning-based reading. The performance differences between Christian and Rezwana confirm this distinction rather than add to it. In other words, it is hard to see the importance of these different repair strategies.

The difficulty here arises perhaps because the stress has been placed on a particular conversational practice (performing repairs whilst reading) within a setting that has been characterised solely as students reading to a teacher. I have not taken into account what it is they are reading, and have not looked at the way the text is constructed through the (non reading-aloud) talk between teacher and students. We have been drawn into these data because I have wanted to revise the earlier miscue analysis of reading, and I have had to isolate an element of this event - reading aloud - in order to do this. I will now turn to other parts of this event in order to broaden the analysis. I will not, however, start straight away making the above observations interesting. Instead, I will return to the talk about text data that I discussed in chapter 4 (section 4.4.2) in order to get a better sense of how the teacher is responding to students' talk.

5.4 starting an interactional analysis of talking about text: a closer look at some teacher questions

The earlier comments on teacher moves (section 4.4) consisted in measuring what Mr. E says in this event against an ideal form of what he should be doing. What he actually does is then found wanting. I questioned whether the teacher was eliciting an opinion at a particular moment in the event. I decided that although "do you think it is a boring job" resembled a question that might have been developed into an exploration and discussion of opinions, it did not actually serve this more ambitious aim. What is eventually said makes us view the question differently. I also had reservations about the functioning of Mr. E's talk about the time and place of the story, suggesting that he was displaying his own knowledge rather than drawing knowledge and experience out from the students.

We can only decide on these matters by looking at how the exchanges actually unfold, and this in turn partly depends on how Mr. E's utterances are responded to by the students. Indeed, our sense that the teacher's strategies do not lead to those features of talk and learning listed in Cummins' model depends on judgments relying on an implicit reasoning about the actual interactional consequences of teacher "moves" in

these data. But, despite trying to mediate between the more abstract terms used by Cummins and the data by using the work of reading educationalists, we are not yet closer to a sense of how to talk explicitly about interaction. This is because learners are seen solely as individuals "developing" rather than as also responding to what is said to them. We have been applying an approach that divides talk up into teacher strategies and moves, and student's reading and thinking processes. The aim of this section is to describe further the two exchanges (see section 4.4.2) within which Mr. E's questions took place in order to see how the teacher is responding to students' talk. I will start by looking more closely at the instance of "eliciting an opinion".

5.4.1 orchestrating a story telling: "do you think it is a boring job ..."

talk-about-text (1)

1	Mark	once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy/
2		who lo:::ngs for adventure/
3		what a boring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
4	Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/
5	?	( )
6	Mr. E	= watching sheep, a:::ll da::y lo::ng/
7	Mark	=ye::s/
8	Mr. E	nothing to do/
9	Marcus	you don't have to watch them//
10		(.5)
11	Mr. E	yeh you do//
		.....
		((Mr. E looks down at book))
12	Marcus	why?
13	Vanderroy	just in =case they get out there// =
		.....
		((Vanderroy points to picture))
14	Mr. E	=case there's anima:::::::ls/= or they get out
		.....
		((Mr. E turns head slightly towards Vanderroy))
15	Vanderroy	= li=ke there=
		.....
		((Vanderroy points to picture))
16	Mr. E	= that's ri = ght, and, where do you think this story's happening,
17		~look at the~ <u>build</u>ings in that = picture whe-/ =
		.....
		((Mr. E points to picture in book))

There will be four stages in my analysis.[9] (1) I will make a preliminary description of what the participants are doing in their talk. (2) I'll pose a problem in this talk, based on an oddness in the light of this initial gloss. (3) In order to get more of a purchase on some of the details of the talk, I will make some observations on how the talk is "designed". (4) In the light of these more detailed noticings I will propose a revised description of what participants are doing.

The following preliminary broad description will restate some of the intuitions that informed the comments already made in section 4.4.2, and provides an initial way into the data. Mr. E asks a question, "do you think it is a boring job" (line 4) that apparently asks the students for an opinion about what has just been read. Latched on to a possible response to this (line 5) is an elaboration of the question by Mr. E: "it" is expanded into "watching silly sheep all day long" (line 6). The question now becomes more loaded, and a positive answer thereby becomes preferred. There is an elliptical answer from Mark, "yes" (line 7), which is an expression of the preferred opinion. There then follows Mr. E's final addition to his question: "nothing to do" (line 8), which is now so loaded that it comes close to providing an answer to the question. Marcus' "you don't have to watch them" (line 9) is challenging part of Mr. E's elaboration of the question, "watching sheep all day long" (line 6), and is thus potentially expandable into what has become by now a dispreferred opinion. Mr. E in turn challenges (line 11) this claim by Marcus and goes on to provide a reason for the boy watching sheep all day long (line 14). Vanderroy adds another reason in support of Mr. E's elaboration and against Marcus's challenge (line 13 & 15).

There is a puzzle over the way Marcus' utterance "you don't have to watch them" (line 9) is treated by the teacher in the light of this initial gloss. I will now try to characterise this puzzle more carefully, starting with this utterance of Marcus's and taking his perspective at precisely the time he says this. There are at least two reasons for seeing his utterance as an opinion-giving response to Mr. E's sequence of turns, seen by him (Marcus) as an opinion-seeking sequence. Firstly, Mr. E's question at line 4 - do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/ - does not initially take the point of view of the story character, the shepherd boy, but of the readers looking at the text "from outside": Mr. E begins his question with "do you think ..."; there is use of "it" rather than "this" to refer to a generic job of being a shepherd rather than the particular job in the story; and there is a stress on "is", marking off the perspective of the question from the perspective of the reading aloud. So, there are good reasons for the readers to position themselves initially from outside the text: to think about whether "it", the job, *is* boring, and not whether the boy finds it boring. Secondly, even though Mr. E's question gets subsequently developed and transformed, Marcus could still be hearing Mr. E's

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[9]My approach adds, following Sacks (1992, vol. 2, 267), an extra stage of "creating a problem" to Pomerantz & Fehr's (1997) approach to Conversation Analysis.

continued extension of the question as, if not a negative evaluation of Marks' "yes" (line 7) and the other response (line 5), at least as a signal that something more is required than the minimal agreement that is actually offered.

Following Marcus' "you don't have to watch them", Mr. E could have softened his disagreement with this and made Marcus's statement into a more creative point, that is, a point that gives rise to further talk on this topic of the shepherd boy's job. He could have gone on to recognise Marcus as saying, for example: you don't have to literally watch them all day, just keep an eye on them. Instead, Mr. E disagrees directly with Marcus - "yeh you do" (line 11) - and at the same time he moves to close off this sequence by looking down at his book. If Marcus had not asked "why" (line 12), this might have been the end of this particular sequence. The unmitigated disagreement by Mr. E, and the subsequent effort to give reasons for the need to watch the sheep, are rather odd given that there seem to be grounds for treating Mr. E's questions as designed to elicit opinions. Mr. E seems to be "setting up" Marcus, or anyone who offers a genuine opinion: he asks what the children think and then dismissively disagrees with the only genuine offer. Mr. E, in saying "yeh you do" (line 11), seems to be trying to shut down the kind of talk he has been working to create.

It could be argued that this puzzle is born from a naivety about questions, both generally and especially in classrooms. Surely, we do not need reminding that a question may not be doing what its surface form may at first suggest? And it is fairly well known how questions and answers have to be understood via their underlying "projects" (Sacks, 1992, 56): that is, that questions have to be seen against a background of assumptions indexed by the question and questioner; and that the answerer has to see the question against the right background to understand how to formulate an answer. Hammersley (1977), for example, applies this insight to a teacher's question, and shows how one question forms a "plan" that lasts an entire lesson. A question is asked at the beginning that is, on its own as it stands, unanswerable. The teacher then guides pupils to an answer through a build up of clues that lead to a "crescendo" at the end, at which point pupils must interpret and use the teacher's increasingly helpful clue-giving talk to answer the question. We could see a similar, but shorter, process at work in these data. The children, it could be argued, are oriented ever more precisely to the preferred response, and Marcus is challenging this trajectory. Or we could follow the more critical line of Baker (1991): the teacher is moving from a *story world* to a *social world* of jobs in which sheep have to be taken care of because of the real life dangers. The world of text, that element of the reading event that all participants can call upon, is marginalised. The teacher is the sole authority figure that can switch worlds, from story world to social world. However, although these analyses are convincing as far as they go, in offering an account of the event as a whole, they leave out some of the more subtle and educationally important (as I'll show in chapter 6) twists and turns of the talk here. In particular, they do not give an account of *how* the apparent opinion question gets

transformed into a question that limits the answers so precisely, and what more is going on as this gets done.

To get at this extra dimension, this additional subtlety, it is helpful to look more carefully at some of the formal properties of this talk, to "rough up the surface" a bit (ten Have, 1999, 104). This is the third step in the analysis, outlined above. It involves bracketing out the initial "common sense" views of what is going on, albeit temporarily and for strategic purposes. In doing this we may be able to gain a different perspective on this talk by attending to features that are otherwise overlooked. Remember that I have initially characterised this talk as a teacher asking students a question about what they think about an element of a story, and the problem is to understand why so much work is done to get at one "right" opinion. I will make three points about this talk, looking at how the initial question (line 4) is located within the talk, how the question gets elaborated, and how Vanderroy's extra reason gets responded to by Mr. E.

Immediately before the question, Mark has been reading from the text:

1	Mark	once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy/
2		who lo:::ngs for adventure/
3		what a boring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
*4	Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/

Although, as I have already discussed, the "do you think" question (line 4) could at this point be asking for a personal view, the question has followed on immediately from that section of the text that it is about (in some yet to be defined way) without a pause or a disjunctive marker of any kind (for example, "well", or "ok now") to suggest that a different activity is being started. Also, the question repeats "boring job", the same phrase as is in the boy's reported thought. In keeping links to the previous text open in this inconclusive way, the question in line 4 may be acting as an extension to the text and oral reading, orienting students to the text and serving an "are you with me?" function. But this is not certain at this stage of the event. As I have already argued, there are good reasons also for viewing this question as marking itself off from Mark's reading-aloud. The point I am making here is that this move by Mr. E is ambiguous: it is a question that invites some kind of distinctive personal investment in a response to the text, but at the same time does not distinguish itself from the activity of reading aloud as it might do.

Secondly, turning to the way Mr. E's question gets extended, "watching sheep a:::ll da::y lo:ng" and "nothing to do" (lines 6 & 8) act as additions to his initial question:

4 Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/
5 ?	( )
*6 Mr. E	= watching sheep, a:::ll da::y lo::ng/
7 Mark	=ye::s/
*8 Mr. E	nothing to do/

These additions could be understood in a number of ways: as *reformulators* (French & MacLure, 1979, 12), because they are putting the question in different ways to get at the "target answer"; as "prompts" (Mehan, 1979, 55); or as initiating self-repair (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) following negatively evaluated answers. But Mr. E does not seem to be fitting his question-extensions to the "answers": "watching sheep all day long" follows immediately on from the unintelligible (to me) utterance of line 5, and it is not clear from "nothing to do" (line 8) what Mark's' "ye::s" (line 7) lacks. Mr. E's extensions do not seem to be taking different approaches to arriving at one answer. Perhaps these utterances operate in a different way: the additions to the "question" are not designed so much to get the participants to a correct response, but to extend the meaning of the initial "question", if we can usefully call it that at all. At this point it is useful to note two features of Mr. E's additions. Together with the initial question they can be made to form a complete utterance in their own right: "do you think it is a boring job, watching sheep all day long, nothing to do". Secondly, Mr. E's prosodic design of his talk about text coordinates his own talk with Mark's previous reading aloud. Although I will wait until the next chapter to show this (in section 6.3), we can already see some similarity between (1) the way Mark divides his own reading into two tone units, "what a boring job this is" and "watching silly sheep" (line 3); and (2) the way Mr. E starts with a question (line 4), fashioned from Mark's first unit (line 3), and then extends the question (line 6) by building on to Mark's second unit (line 3):

3	what a boring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
4 Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/
5 ?	( )
6 Mr. E	= watching sheep, a:::ll da::y lo::ng/

Thirdly, to that part of the talk in which an opinion is possibly expressed by Vanderroy, "just in case they get out there" (line 13):

9 Marcus	you don't have to watch them//
10	(.5)
11 Mr. E	yeh you do//
	.....
	((Mr. E looks down at book))

12 Marcus why?

13 Vanderroy just in = case they get out there// =

.....

((Vanderroy points to picture))

14 Mr. E =case there's anima:::::::ls/= or they get out

.....

((Mr. E turns head slightly towards Vanderroy))

15 Vanderroy = li=ke there=

.....

((Vanderroy points to picture))

16 Mr. E = that's ri = ght, and, where do you think this story's happening,

17 look at the~ <u>build</u>ings in that = picture whe-/ =

.....

((Mr. E points to picture in book))

At this point the talk could become animated into a difference of opinion, with Marcus thinking that shepherds do not watch their sheep and Vanderroy the contrary: we have the makings of two opposed views held by the students. Vanderroy, after all, is the first to start to answer Marcus' question, "why" (line 12), which seeks a justification for Mr. E's "yeh you do" (have to watch over them) (line 11). But Mr. E manages the talk in such a way that this does not come about, and he does so by doing a number of things to incorporate Vanderroy's utterances into his own, despite Vanderroy's attempt to express his own answer to Marcus's question. I will describe four ways this happens.

Firstly, even though Vanderroy starts to make what could be taken as an answer to Marcus' "why" question with "just in" (line 13), Mr. E starts his own answer by fitting this onto the beginning of Vanderroy's utterance: Mr. E's "case" (line 14) not only overlaps Vanderroy's own "case" but uses Vanderroy's "just in". That is, Mr. E is at this point displaying his awareness of Vanderroy's argument, and building on to this with his own.

Secondly, Mr. E works to be the last to finish so that he keeps hold of his turn (line 14) by extending the end of his own reason, "anima:::::::ls". By doing this he also has ensured that Vanderroy's utterance (line 13), apart from that part which can be seen as a prelude to his own, is not "in the clear".

Thirdly, Mr. E repeats (at the end of line 14) part of Vanderroy's reason, "they get out" (line 13) and attaches it to his own with an "or". As he does this he turns his head towards Vanderroy. In doing this Mr. E is representing Vanderroy's utterance as an addition to his own answer to Marcus' question. Vanderroy is probably (at line 13) pointing to a relevant feature in the picture accompanying the recently read aloud text, a hole in the stone well ("there") surrounding the sheep and the shepherd (see appendix 2). Mr. E has not immediately responded to this gesture: to do so would make

Vanderroy's utterance into more of an independent answer, with Vanderroy having noticed a relevant picture detail. Vanderroy (line 15) responds to this omission by extending Mr. E's utterance: "like there" syntactically fits (and is latched) on to the end of Mr. E's turn, "or they get out" (line 14). In doing this, and in pointing to the picture again, Vanderroy is claiming to make an original contribution: his "just in case they get out there" (line 13) is not just as an addition to Mr. E's topic, but is an original noticing of a feature in the picture *there*.

This brings me to the fourth way that Mr. E incorporates Vanderroy's turns: his "that's right" (line 16) that partly overlaps Vanderroy's addition is both an addition to his own earlier incorporating turn (line 14) and is a way of literally having the last word on the issue of watching sheep[10]. It could be argued that Mr. E's "that's right" is *merely* a continuation of his earlier turn, and that Vanderroy has responded to a possible turn completion that turns out not to be, as far as the current speaker Mr. E is concerned. The problem here, I think, is the word "merely". Jefferson (1986) shows that although there is often some "latency" in overlap, i.e. a recipient briefly overlapping a speaker because of a "blind spot in talk" (a moment when, for example, a recipient of talk starts to talk just after a speaker starts to continue), speakers are still capable of fitting their talk to others' talk in very precise ways, taking account of initial word sounds.[11]

Let's go back to the sequence as a whole to recharacterise it in the light of the above noticings. (This is the fourth and final part of my analysis.) Remember that we started with a problem about how to characterise Mr. E's initial question. We have gone on to see that the question is part of a larger project of Mr. E's. We can see now how the development of the question functions as a replaying of textual detail: Mr. E is controlling, or trying to control, a joint performance of a salient narrative element. This is not so much to test the children, or to get *them* to position themselves in relation to the story, or to start moving within a social world, but primarily to get them all firmly in place - for *Mr. E* to position them - within the "right" interpretative frame. That the shepherd is bored because the job is boring is proposed as a necessary ingredient of the story. The opinion question is not principally designed to engender difference of opinion, to get the students coming up with their own distinctive utterances, but to get everybody on line. The teacher is acting as a kind of additional narrator, or as the leader

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[10] This does not mean that Mr. E does not respond to Vanderroy's pointing to the picture - after his evaluative "that's right" he straight away asks students to look at the picture (line 20). However, this is a very different kind of looking, done in connection with a new question.

[11] We can see this happening when a recipient completes a word that the speaker has only started. At other times it may be unclear whether there is latency or not, i.e. whether a recipient is responding to the very latest fragment or to the previous (perceived as) "completed" turn. This kind of uncertainty at times may be analytically uninteresting, but at other times the ambiguity may be useful for the participants. Jefferson cites an example of a recipient responding to a fragment of speaker's talk, but exhibiting "independent-minded consensus" by "pouncing" close to the beginning of the turn-extension (1986, 175). Although the data here are different in certain respects, something similar is possibly being done by Mr. E. He is responding to Vanderroy starting to talk, but exhibiting an independently constructed addition to his own earlier talk.

of a chorus. The students are to act as an active and participating audience (to different extents) to this mini-narration, or as members of a chorus. The range of preferred responses for this kind of choral-narrative is relatively limited: students are being put in the position of appreciating Mr. E's particular perspective (or gloss) on the story by fitting their turns into the few available spaces made available. But this, I have tried to show, is not displayed as Mr. E's personal perspective: Mr. E himself does work to fit his own questioning talk in with the previous reading-aloud performance of Mark's. Although there is more work to do to show this (in chapter 6), I made the point above that Mr. E's questions to some extent parallel the tone units of the oral reading. This additional perspective on the reading event adds a new layer to the relationships between students and teacher. Mr. E is performing as a narrator (or choral leader) who re-plays certain moments of the read-aloud story, with the students joining (or following) him in the chorus.

5.4.2 providing a setting: "when do you think ..."

I have so far only looked at the first part of this particular talk-about-text exchange, and so I'll now say something about the talk that immediately follows. My analysis in this section can be less detailed and more suggestive than that above, as my aim is to draw attention to some similarities between this part of the exchange and the previous sequence.

talk-about-text (1)

16 Mr. E = that's ri=ght, and, where do you think this story's happening,
17 ~look at the~ <u>build</u>ings in that = picture whe- / =
.....
((Mr. E points to picture in book))
18 Vanderroy = i know/ greece// =
19 Mr. E and what type of-, wha-, when do you think/
.....
((Mark holds hand up))
20 (0.5)
21 Mr. E now? today?
.....
((Mark keeps hand up))
22 Vanderroy no::://
23 Mark? no:,
24 Vanderroy a long time ago//
.....
((Mr. E looks and nods at Mark))

25 Mark in the olden times//

.....

((Christian looks at Mark))

26 Mr. E = yes / =

27 Vanderroy =ancient greece=

28 Mr. E in <u>ancient</u> greece/ =alright=/

.....

((Christian raises hand))

29 Christian = in / = in victorian times//

30 Mr. E no:/ even long before the victorian times/ about/

31 this was about three thousand years ago//

32 Christian a:::h/

33 ? e::h/

34 Mr. E it was a long long time ago/ carry on reading please marcus//

35 Marcus eat eat eat / that's all they do all day/

36 Mr. E carry on rezwana//

I'll start with Mr. E's question at line 19: "when do you think". From the start of this questioning exchange Mr. E has offered the students a way of providing an answer: Mr. E points to the picture as he tells the students to "look at the buildings" (at line 17). The questions here have a different role than the "boring job" questions looked at above: there is a "preformulator", a device which draws students' attention to the resources needed to answer the question (French & MacLure, 1979, 3). However, the way the answers are constructed by participants in this sequence has something in common with the exchange surrounding the earlier question: the question and answer sequence doesn't just orient the students to the story text and oral reading, but is an extension to these. I will draw attention to two features to make this point.

Firstly, turning to the question "when do you think" (line 19). When no response to this is immediately forthcoming, Mr. E reformulates the question, "now? today?" (line 21). This reformulation helps students give their answers "a long time ago" (line 24) and "in the olden times" (line 25). These are evaluated as correct (line 26) before Vanderroy provides the answer of "ancient greece" (line 27), which is also evaluated. The relationship between Mr. E's initial "when do you think" question (line 19), the subsequent reformulating of the question (and its consequent responses), and the three different answers mentioned so far is complicated, and I do not want to go into this here in any detail. The important feature for my purposes is that Mark's utterance, "in olden times" (line 25) can be seen as a continuation of Vanderroy's "a long time ago" (line 24) as well as being a different answer to Mr. E's question (lines 19 & 21). Similarly, Mr. E's response, "in ancient greece" (line 28), to Vanderroy's answer (line 27) fits on to the previous answers (lines 24 & 25) rather neatly. So we have: "a long time ago, in the

olden times, in ancient greece alright". As with the previous "boring job" exchange, there is a joint performance of a narrative element, a performance constructed this time from resources to be found within the picture. This is achieved within an *IRE* (*Initiation, Response, Evaluation*) (Mehan, 1979) structure but not subsumed by it. That is, the students and teacher are orienting to this IRE structure, but at the same time participants are responding to one another's turns in a different way, adding to them rather than replacing them. (This is, of course, nothing unusual in classroom discourse.)

Secondly, the treatment of Christian's addition "in victorian times" (line 29) shows a similar kind of complexity. Christian raises his hand, and is, to some extent, still responding to Mr. E's main "when do you think" question. But Christian's answer is also made to add to the chain of past references. It is treated as an addition, and not just as an error, by Mr. E. There are two reasons for saying this. Firstly, although Mr. E's "no" (line 30) tells the others that this "answer" is "wrong", Mr. E then goes on to give more information about the historical period - "even long before the victorian times ... " (line 30) in such a way that Christian's "error" is incorporated in the "correction". Secondly, "it was a long long time ago" (line 34) uses the question-answer-evaluation format to elaborate on the time of the story. In line 34 Mr. E is not only a responding to Christian's misunderstanding, but uses the earlier language of Vanderroy's "a long time ago" (line 24). If Mr. E had not done all this work, and if Christian had not uttered his evaluative exclamations - "a:::h/" (line 32) - we would be left with something more like a "wrong answer". As it is, we have participants working to make this more than a question-answer-evaluation exchange. They are building their turns onto one another to provide a setting for the story.

5.5 conclusion

The aim of the chapter has been to identify academic phenomena of a different order from individual competencies and pedagogic strategy, to show students and teacher performing together, acting within the interaction order. Taking a different approach to the same data as were analysed more conventionally in chapter 4, I have tried to say something new about students' oral reading performances and the teacher's pedagogic contributions. This has been partly achieved. I have started to develop the earlier glosses of these events given in chapter 4 into richer descriptions of interaction. I have shown:

- how readers carefully design oral reading turns as performances and are highly sensitive to the ways listeners can repair their turns
- ways of managing repair vary between readers who strive to hold on to their turn and those who more readily give it up
- prosody can be used as a turn keeping device

- teacher questions are designed in close cooperation with other student participants to extend the oral reading and story text as well as to orient to it
- opinion-seeking questions can be used as a way for the teacher to become a kind of story teller
- other teacher questions can serve as scene setting for the oral reading and story text

However, it is hard to see yet exactly how this additional analysis can change earlier comments (in chapter 4) about pedagogy and assessment. Yes, I have added another layer of description to show the teacher as responsive to student talk, and students as continuously sensitive to other participants. But do we get a very different account of student competence and effective pedagogy to that which is already on offer? In the case of the "boring job" exchange, haven't we just got a more detailed picture of teacher domination? Don't we now see in greater detail a teacher marginalising, rather than tuning in to children's talk? In the case of the story-setting talk, can't we now see how subtly Mr. E contains others' contributions, rather than being substantially influenced by them? And don't we now just have a more complete picture of differences between "reading for meaning" and "decoding". *The assessment of student reading and teacher pedagogy still do not share an analytic language.* The teacher is still viewed as a strategist, and students as involved with the short-term business of hanging on to turns.

Indeed, the extra layers of analysis may seem to provide more evidence for Baker and Freebody's arguments (section 4.4.3), that a lot of teacher-led talk about fictional texts appears to draw on students' personal experiences and interpretations of the text, but that the teacher effectively controls these contributions by shaping them in line with his/her view of what is to count as the correct reading. In other words, talk about text can be a way for the teacher to establish at the same time his/her own authority and the authority of the text, achieved partly by the ways the teacher shifts between question-answer exchanges that focus on the text, and those oriented to extra-textual knowledge.

Baker and Freebody's analyses are concerned with interpersonal meanings, with the way that the teacher imposes his/her own authority at the same time as imposing the authority of the text. The arbitrary nature of the teacher's evaluations of students' answers amounts to an "invasion" or "penetration" (1989, 266) of this authority, and readers have to guess at what the teacher has in mind, with the teacher then guiding answers in such a way that it is the teacher's own reading, not the students', which is eventually articulated.[12]

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[12] Baker and Freebody see this kind of domination not as a corruption of whole language pedagogy, but as a consequence of it, a point that is often made in a critical approach to literacy education. It is not enough, the argument goes, to merely place texts within talk - structures of power need to be addressed by changing, transforming, these taken-for-granted ways of interacting in the classroom.

However, Baker and Freebody leave out from their analyses quite a lot of what may be in their own data. The teacher's questions are not necessarily as arbitrary, and thus dominating, as they are represented (see section 4.4.3). In fact, their arbitrariness could arise from the way the data is presented. In particular:

(1) There is little sense of how data fragments fit in to the pedagogic event. We don't get a sense of how talk about text plays a part within the reading event as a whole. For example, there are various ways of talking about "facts" in stories, and various places for this kind of talk. By extracting sequences from their particular place in an event, we lose a sense of the different work that "fact-talk" does.

(2) One crucial omission is the issue of how oral reading and talk about text are related. Baker and Freebody tend to bracket oral reading out altogether, but we cannot assume that reading aloud and talk about text are totally separate activities.

(3) How closely are Baker and Freebody looking at the ways the teacher helps students by framing their questions? For instance, in example 1 (section 4.4.3), the teacher points to the text (in line 1), but Baker and Freebody don't mention this. In example 3 we don't know what has preceded the teacher's initial question (in line 1). Baker and Freebody have not looked carefully at the resources available - gestural, prosodic, positioning within a sequence - to differentiate questions.

(4) What other kinds of talk go on in these kinds of reading event? Do some students resist the reading and talk about text, and how does this effect the interaction? The picture of total textual domination enforced by the teacher seems unconvincing.

In order to do justice to these points, and apply them to my own data, in the next chapter I will start to situate the talk about text data within the reading event. It is important to try to make sense of these micro-analyses by building up a sense of what participants are doing, and how they are presenting themselves to others, within the event as a whole.

We need to take a slightly broader perspective, to see how the particular interactional mechanisms identified in this chapter are related to one another; so, the questions now are: (1) What can these details of interaction show us about the nature of reading, and reading aloud, in this classroom? (2) What are the implications of this for our views on EAL reading pedagogy, within this classroom and more generally?

6 extending the interactional analysis

I situate my analysis of the data (from chapters 4 and 5) within the context of the reading event as a whole by showing how students and teacher make the event into a story reading in a variety of ways. I then look again at the "do you think it is a boring job" exchange and suggest that Mr. E's question is constructed to do a particular kind of job, albeit a contested one. This particular exchange is not just about teacher-domination. Returning to the starting points of chapter 4, I ask if, generally, reader competence and EAL pedagogy look any different now. Although we can use more detailed descriptions, e.g. Brazil's oral reading taxonomy and a longer list of teacher strategies, we still need to answer the question: How can reader competence and pedagogy be made congruent? I introduce the notion of reading-as-apprehension as a way of explicating the way Mr. E responds to the students' own sense making practices within the reading event as a whole, and thus what reading means for these participants. I return to the other data looked at in chapters 4 & 5 - the oral reading turns and the "when do you think" sequence - and recharacterise them in terms of reading-as-apprehension and reading-as-comprehension. Turning to the more general issues of chapters 1-3, I propose an alternative to the notion of everyday language as a foundation for academic language development. Rather, classroom language is heterogeneous, and academic and everyday language-use are at times made incommensurate by participants. In my data reading is made different from personal experience talk. The analyses and arguments of chapters 4-6 provide us with some specific analytic insights - distinguishing reading-as-apprehension from reading-as-comprehension - and the rather general concept of discourse heterogeneity. The question now becomes: What can a supplementary EAL pedagogic model look like?

6.1 introduction: from talk about text to responding to a story

In the event looked at in the last two chapters, the teacher is doing more than getting students to read a text. Let's return to Heap's contention that reading is a locally constructed cultural phenomenon (section 5.2): to know what reading is, we need to know (1) what is being read, (2) how it is read, and (3) the purpose for reading. We have seen how the readers in my data strive to read correctly, and we have started to see from the analysis so far what reading correctly means for the participants. One of the purposes of the reading event is to "get the words right", and we can see students orienting to this in slightly different ways (section 5.3). Some readers, Vanderroy and Rezwana, get the words right by seeking help from others, and recognising this as help. Other readers, Marcus and Christian, can operate at a different level, collaborating with others to read groups of words. However, from these observations alone, it is hard to say what kind of text is being read. This situation can be regarded as a problem for the teacher: How can

what the participants do be made into a reading of a story, whilst at the same time provide practice in "getting the words" right?

The event is made into a story-reading event partly though the teacher-elicited talk about text. Mr. E is framing the reading aloud as a reading of a story. And we have started to see how this happens (section 5.4): Mr. E on one occasion acts as a co-narrator, orchestrating story-appropriate responses to his own re-narration of the text; and Mr. E elicits talk about the setting of the story. The teacher is not the only active participant: although students do not stop the reading aloud to ask questions, they read aloud in various ways to make the event a story-reading.

In this chapter I will start to put together a more complete picture of how aspects of this kind of event hang together, in particular how talk about text and reading-aloud are related at certain moments. This has to be done carefully and tentatively: For much of the time these are rather separate activities, and it is hard to see their relationship realised in interaction. There will be three parts to this chapter: (1) I'll look quite broadly at data drawn from the same type of reading events, but in which different groups are reading different texts. This data will show three different ways the participants have of constructing the story. (2) I'll return to the "boring job" exchange, comparing this to other similar talk. These different exchanges start off with a similar-looking question from the teacher. My question then becomes: How do the students know how the teacher wants them to talk about the text? I'll try to show how talk about text can be finely tuned to oral reading. (3) I'll use the arguments and analyses of chapters 4-6 to say something different about how these students and teacher do reading, and then say something more general about the relationship between everyday and academic language-use, referring back to some of the discussion of chapters 1-3.

6.2 how is a story made during these reading events?

I will look at three different (but related) reading and speaking practices, drawn from both the event that has provided the data of the previous two chapters, and other "guided reading" events in the same class. The first practice involves participants tuning in to a particular way of reading-aloud and to the narrative segment that is highlighted during this activity. The second practice involves participants stepping back, both from the narrative segment at hand and from the current reading-aloud activity, in order to take a more holistic view of the story. The third involves participants being invited to draw upon their own experiences and opinions. My descriptions of these practices will be quite broad: I am again using the analytic strategy of starting with everyday intuitions about what is going on, and then locating a problem that can show us something new (see section 5.4.1).

6.2.1 reading aloud "in character"

Although for much of the time getting the words right and holding on to turns is of great concern to the participants, there is plenty of evidence that this is not all that matters for the teacher and students during the activity of reading aloud. I'll return to the same reading event to give an example. After Christian's reading aloud turn has been corrected following a problem with reading "wolf", Vanderroy re-reads the entire title of the book, highlighting the word "wolf" by stretching the sound, increasing volume, and using a rise-fall pitch:

Christian (1)

1	Mr. E	can you read the title of this story please christian?
2	Mark	the boy,
3		(.5)
4	Christian	the boy who (.5) reads//
5	Mr. E	ah ah//
6		(.5)
7	Christian	the = boy = who,
8	Vanderroy	= cried//=
9		(.5)
10	Mr. E	cried,
11	Mark	=cried//
12	Christian	=cried//
13		(3)
14	Mark	who = c(ried) =
15	Christian	= b- bol//=
16	?	w( )
17	Mr. E	= wolf//=
18	?	=wolf//=
19	Christian	wolf//
20		(1)
*21	Vanderroy	the boy who =cried WO::LF? =
22	Mr. E	= right, = and this is an aesop fable,
23		adapted by pat edwards,
24		illustrated by peter foster, can you begin reading mark//
25		(2)

On another occasion, during the oral reading of the same text by a member of another group, a student laughs as the text is read. There is a rise-fall tone on "heart", which precedes the laughter:

extract 1 (gr20)

1	Keyla	we've got to get it this time, yes, or there'll be no roast lamb for
2		anyone, and once again # a:::ll was # peaceful a-, peaceful and still/
3		where's the wolf? er, snigger, i guess it ran away again, i think I'm
*4		having a <u>heart</u> attack/ = puff puff =
*5	Ali	=hhhhhhh =

Readers, then, can fashion their reading-aloud so that they sound like, give voice to, a character within the story, and other participants sometimes respond to this kind of reading-aloud performance with laughter.

A participant can contribute to talk about text by reading-aloud. In the following exchange, a student re-reads the text as a way of answering the teacher's question:

extract 2 (gr19)

1	Meliha	raced/ help help a wolf is eating my sheep/ the village (1) = raced =
2	?	=villagers=
3	Meliha	the villagers raced = to =
4	?	=rushed=
5	Mr. E	= no, rushed/
6	Meliha	= rushed to help/ this is fun/ quick follow me/ I hope we're,
7		(1)
8	?	in/
9	Meliha	in time, how many ,
10	?	wolves/
11	Meliha	wolves did he say, six i think,
12	Mr. E	right do you think those villagers are really worried/
13	?	yes/
14	?	=yes/
15	Meliha	=yes/
*16	Mr. E	and look at <u>his</u> face in that picture, what does <u>his</u> face say?
*17	Jerome	he's got, he's like,
*18	Quoc Hong	= THIS IS <u>FUN</u> /((scratchy, excited voice))
19	Kirsty	he's happy/
20	Mr. E	ye::s, look how happy he is, he's lau::ghing,
*21	Jerome	he's got, = he's got ( ) =
*22	Quoc Hong	= <u>THIS</u> IS <u>FU:::N</u> /= ((even more scratchy, excited voice))
		.....
		((QH stretches arms out))
23	Mark	these are all sad/
24	Mr. E	right carry on please kirsty,

Quoc Hong's "this is fun" (line 18) is a reading of the text: he says/reads this with an excited voice and stretches his arms out in a dramatic movement. This acts as completion of Jerome's previous utterances, "he's got, he's like" (line 17). ("He's like" is often used as an introduction to an enactment of something said and/or done.) Members of the group are participating together in a performance of the previously read-aloud section. In some respects what is happening here is similar to the "boring job" data (section 5.4.1) in which Mr. E animates the text. However, in this data (extract 2) it is the students that animate a previously unanimated reading-aloud performance in order to respond to Mr. E's question about a story element (at line 12).

Reading aloud, then, is at times the taking on of a character's voice: a text can be animated by using prosody to express a story character's point of view. Other participants in the event can be more than just a passive audience: they can actively respond to the performance of a story character's perspective.

On one occasion the teacher animates what might otherwise be a rather dull text - "Teatime", consisting of pictures of children playing, with the captions "Can I play." "Yes you can." "Can we play?" - by encouraging students to read aloud in character. The question of how the reading and talk are related is an especially pressing one: how can the written text be made into something that can be meaningful for the participants? I will look at the solution that the participants produce to this problem. Here is most of the event:

extract 3 (gr18)

1 Mr. E	nelson begin please	
2 Nelson	eh?	
3 ?	#teatime#	
4 Mr. E	teatime	
4	(1)	
5 Mr. E	there's children in here that look like people in our school//	
6 David	= o::::::::::h =	
*7 Joao	=that's kirsty=	
8 Mr. E	=right	
9 Nelson	=like this one	
	.....	
	((Nelson pointing to picture))	
10 Mr. E	that's kirsty there = and =	who's that boy there?
	.....	.....
((David looks at Nelson's pointing gesture))		((David looks behind him))
11 ?	= o:::h =	
12 David	e::::h michael	
13 Nelson	no, not michael	

14 Joao kwame

15 ? emmanuel ((from outside group))

16 Mr. E is that kwame, alright, so/ read it please nelson/

17 Nelson can / i / play //

18 (1)

19 Nelson yes y=( ) =

*20 Mr. E =you = read the part of kirsty then ((looking at David))

21 David m=::::::::::?=

22 Nelson = a::::h =

23 Mr. E right, come on,

24 David # yes =you-, yes you can/ #= ((breathy voice))

*25 Nelson =you look like kirsty, = you look like = (kirsty) ( ) =

.....

((Mr. E, smiling, looks over at Kirsty))

26 Mr. E = come on =

27 ? = ( ) =

28 Mr. E =right,= say yes you can

29 David yes / you / can/ ((breathy voice))

30 Nelson hhhh

31 (1)

32 Mr. E joao

33 Jerome can we play//

34 Mr. E who's that girl there

35 Nelson which one

36 Mr. E meliha

37 Nelson mm::::::= :::::: =

38 David = mel =iha and e::rm ((turning round))

39 Mr. E that's rezwana over there ((David is turning round to look))

40 (1)

41 Mr. E oh keyla yes ((David points))

42 Nelson yes you? (1) yes you can/

43 David (so) nelson's (it), can i play/

44 (1)

45 David the other teacher wants to pla(h)y (1) hhhh

46 Mr. E ye::= :s::::?=

47 David = mel =iha and e::rm ((turning round))

48 Mr. E that's rezwana over there ((David is turning round to look))

49 (1)

50 Mr. E oh keyla yes ((David points))

51 Nelson yes you? (1) yes you can/

52 David (so) nelson's (it), can i play/
53 (1)
54 David the other teacher wants to pla(h)y (1) hhhh

Reading aloud and reacting to reading aloud - making something of it - are hard to separate in this event. Before the reading aloud starts some of the pictures of children playing are identified as children in the class (line 10, 12 & 14). This enables Mr. E to say to David: "you read the part of Kirsty then" (line 20). David is not just reading aloud, but reading a character-part. Nelson then extends this idea at line 25: David is not only reading the part, but looks like Kirsty. Mr. E then looks over to Kirsty and smiles (line 25). Why does he do this? The way the text is being animated affects students around them, and it is perhaps important for the teacher to monitor this, and to ensure that others are not offended. His open smiling gaze makes the activity a light-hearted game. But there may be another reason. The students *within* the group now know (or are reminded) that they are reading their parts within this wider context: Kirsty knows something about what they are doing, and David's turn is now situated within this set of interactions. David is reading a part that has been keyed as a light-hearted playing of someone in the room. Mr. E's "say yes you can" (line 28) again frames the reading aloud as a taking on of a part. (He does not say "read" or "your turn", but "say".) To sum up, reading here draws on the resources of the immediate social environment of the classroom. This is not just a matter of elaborating the text. Everything changes once the words are treated as the words of a student that is sitting in the room. The reading aloud becomes playing a part.

This practice of reading a part is not just an embellishment by students and teacher. At times its absence might be corrected by Mr. E. During another reading event, with a different text, Mr. E shows a reader how a part should be read:

extract 4 (gr5)
1 Mr. E what does that mean if somebody sighed, yes?
2 Ali (does it make) a little (place),
3 Mr. E no::::
4 ( )
5? ~i know~
6? ((sighing sound))
*7 Mr. E mm <u>that's</u> our little girls room/ ((sighing voice)) (2) you have
8 to sigh, right/

On another occasion Mr. E mimics an "inexpressive" reading (Mr. E's own term to describe these kind of turns):

extract 5 (gr20)

1 Sierra	you/ can't/ trick/ us/ again/ little/ liar/ and/ when/ the/ boy/ went/
2	back/
*3 Mr. E	= no// you/ can't/ trick/ us/ again/ little/ liar/ and/ when/ the/ boy/ went/
*4	back// how should you be reading sierra?
5 Sierra	( )
6 Mr. E	yes/ come ON// get lost//
7 Sierra	get lost// there's
8 Chris	WE KNOW there's no wolf//
9 Sierra	we know there's no wolf// you can't trick us/ again little liar/

6.2.2 going outside the text and finding connections

Taking on the voice of story characters is not the only way the text is made into a story. Mr. E at times asks questions of the students that require them to go beyond the recently read-aloud narrative element, and to sometimes make a connection with another part of the story. An example of this can be found shortly after the "boring sheep" exchange. Marcus is reading:

Marcus (3)

1 Marcus	= ~ where's the wolf~
2 Mr. E	looks as though,
3 Marcus	looks as thought/ = we = frightened it off//
4 Mark	= no =
* 5 Mr. E	and did they frighten it off?
6 ??	no::/
* 7 Mr. E	why not/
8 Marcus	there was no wolf,
9 Mr. E	there was no wolf / he made up the story / but they don't know that,

The question "why not" (line 7) - understood as "why didn't they frighten the wolf off" - has a preferred answer ("there was no wolf") that is not to be found by looking at the text in any one place. Indeed it is hard to imagine what could count as a *preformulator* - a relatively locatable textual or conversational feature to which a questioner can link a question (see French & MacLure (1979)) - for the question "why not". The answer is to be found in a different way, and displays a more global understanding of what is happening. Mr. E is trying to orient the pupils to a key aspect of the story. A different kind of response to reading is called for that doesn't just take a character's perspective at the time of the narrative segment being read-aloud. Mr. E is asking readers to draw together different parts of the story.

On another occasion with a different group, Mr. E asks a question that at first may look to have a similar function to the "do you think it is a boring job" question previously discussed:

extract 6 (gr21)

1	Liam	eat eat eat / that's all they do all day, munch munch, nothing ever
2		happens it's so dull and boring, then, one day he said out loud, if only a
3		wolf would turn up, that would be exciting, and at once a wicked
4		thought came into his mind, why don't I pre pretend a wolf is trying to
5		eat me my sheep/
*6	Mr. E	now do you think it would be exciting if a wolf turned up /
7	Liam	=no=
8	Nobin	=no= it'd =be scary =
9	Chenge	=i like this = story ( )
10	Mr. E	= yes well just, i'm just asking, d- why then do you think it would(n't)
11		be exciting, do you think it would be <u>boring</u> (if a wolf was to)( )/
12	Liam	no/
12	Nobin	no/
13	Chenge	( ) =scary =
14	Mr. E	=what =would it be, it could be sca::ry, wha- how else would
15		you feel if a wolf turned up/
16	Liam	you'd feel like dropping, drop, erm drop down and die
17	Chenge	fainting
18	Mr. E	fainting, but how else would you = feel =
19	Chenge	=frightened=
20	Mr. E	frightened, scared
21	Hassan	yes frightened
22	Liam	like crying
23	Mr. E	like crying, maybe confused cause you don't know what to do, and
24		what do you think, why, what do you think a wolf, why do you think it
25		would make a difference if the wolf came, what do wolves do to sheep?

Mr. E's question, "now do you think it would be exciting if a wolf turned up" (line 6), is not developed into one directed at getting the students to align to the character's attitude and perspective. It instead elicits a number of different hypothetical feelings about a wolf turning up. These alternatives are jointly produced: the students offer a number of different possibilities (lines 13, 16, 17, 19 & 22), and Mr. E ratifies these by repeating them (lines 14, 18, 20 & 23) and allowing the offering of alternatives to continue. He then adds to them with his own version, "maybe confused" (line 23).

These feelings are additions, possibly qualifications, to that contained in the reading. Readers are stepping outside of a particular characters' perspective.

6.2.3 eliciting readers' personal experiences

At times the teacher provides space for students to talk about their own experiences. For example, during the reading of a text "The Ghost in Annie's Room", about a girl who sees a ghost whilst visiting her aunt, there is a lot of talk about students' own experiences of visiting aunts and being scared in old big houses:

extract 7 (gr6)

1	Jerome	and it's leaves darkened the window, and the whole room//
2	Mr. E	right thank thank you/ now if we turn over there ( ) of those she said
3		jo often teased, I can remember going to my auntie's when I was, it was
4		a very big house it was very old, and I can remember my sister telling
5		me that there was ghosts that lived under the beds,
6	??	hhhhhhhhh
7	Mr. E	and I can remember being very scared about that=#and my sister,#=
8	?	=( ) =
9	?	= sir =
10	Mr. E	do your sisters sometimes tease you?
11	Esther	sir, see my mum, yes, my mum told me, that she's got two eyes at
12		the back of her head/
13	Mr. E	o::h my dear?
14	Esther	and there's ghosts going = ( )=
15	Jerome	=(my)=grandma said that she's she's said that
16		there's a crocodile on her bed so I was scared
17	??	hhhhhhh
18	Mr. E	right carry on melissa

extract 8 (gr6)

1	Jerome	there was no sound, except the loud fumbling, thumping/ of her
2		frightened heat/
3	Mr. E	alright just stop there please, have you ever been so scared,
4		= that= = you =
5	?	=yes =
6	?	= yes =
7	Mr. E	could even hear your heart beating in your chest?

8 Nobin sir, i had a dream, i s- g- I thought this (other hand just) came out my 9 body and = (got)= my (neck),

10 Mr. E = ye =s

11 Nobin and my heart would go ~boom,~

12 Mr. E yes, that's pretty frightening isn't it, right carry on,

There is not the same close attention to the text as in the other two kinds of talk about text. In extract 7 talk is started by the teacher inserting his own story (lines 2-5), and in extract 8 the students are asked about their own feelings. Although this talk is a kind of reading of the story text, it is more loosely related to the text: talk is rooted in children's everyday worlds of aunts and uncles, their own views on ghosts and hauntings, and their fears. Rather than limiting talk to characters' feelings, similar personal experiences and fantasies of the students are invoked, and talk about these develops quickly into a sequence of related student stories. Students are taking part in this story-reading by narrating their own experiences as they are made relevant by the teacher. The teacher's questions - "do your sisters sometimes tease you" and "have you ever been so scared ..." - serve as personal experience elicitations, and so the students' answers cannot be evaluated in the same way as the other kinds of talk about text (for example in extract 6 above).

6.3 the relationship between reading aloud and talk about text

I'll now return to the "do you think it is a boring job" exchange with Marcus and others in order to look in more detail at the relationship between reading aloud and talk about text:

talk-about-text (1)

1 Mark once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy/

2 who lo:::ngs for adventure/

3 what a boring job this is/ watching silly sheep//

* 4 Mr. E do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/

5 ? ( )

6 Mr. E = watching sheep, a:::ll da::y lo::ng/

7 Mark =ye::s/

8 Mr. E nothing to do/

9 Marcus you don't have to watch them//

10 (.5)

11 Mr. E yeh you do//

.....

((Mr. E looks down at book))

12 Marcus why?

13 Vanderroy just in =case they get out there//=

.....

((Vanderroy points to picture))

14 Mr. E =case there's anima::::::::ls/= or they get out

.....

((Mr. E turns head slightly towards Vanderroy))

15 Vanderroy = li=ke there=

.....

((Vanderroy points to picture))

After the previous section we should appreciate the different ways the teacher's questions work in this event, and so we can now see a little better the problem that students are faced with here. What kind of question is "do you think it is a boring job" (line 4)? What sort of story-making activity is preferred by the teacher at the moment of asking this question? Are students expected to relate a personal experience or express a personal opinion (section 6.2.3 above)? Are they to go beyond the part of the text that is being read, making perhaps a connection with another part of the story or going beyond a character's point of view (section 6.2.2)? Or are they to read with the superficial grain of the story, and answer by reference to the shepherd boy's state of mind during this narrated moment (section 6.2.1)?

In my earlier analysis of this data (section 5.4.1) I talked about the way Mr. E was giving a performance of a narrative element, and how one of the students aligned himself with this. I argued against seeing this exchange as merely a failed opportunity for the discussion of students' views of the text. But in doing this I perhaps downplayed to some extent the ambiguity in the nature of the question itself: the differences between the two ways the question are actually answered are important *for the participants*. Although one student makes a response in line with Mr. E's extended question, another student, Marcus, responds to the question with something more like a personal opinion (line 9).

The focus in this section will be on the ways that the teacher tries to resolve this particular ambiguity. This section has three parts. (1) I'll make comparisons between the "boring job" talk and another exchange, saying something about the way participants use prosody to relate reading aloud and talk about text. (2) I'll apply the ideas about this relationship to two other exchanges that involve other groups reading aloud the same "boring job" text. (3) I'll introduce the notion of reading as *apprehension*.

6.3.1 comparing events: two ways of constructing a story

Mr. E makes the event into a story-reading by encouraging the students to make a story-like response to the reading of the text. The question is then: How exactly is the teacher's question (line 4) shaped to address the problem of ambiguity in his question? To answer this, I will compare the "boring job" sequence with another sequence with a similar question that does a different job.

Let's return to the exchange (from section 6.2.2) in which Mr. E asks the group "do you think it would be exciting if a wolf turned up":

extract 6 (gr21)

1 Liam	eat eat eat / that's all they do all day, munch munch, nothing ever
2	happens it's so dull and boring, then / one day he said / out loud / if only
a 3	wolf would turn up / that would be exciting / and at once a wicked
4	thought came into his mind, why don't I pre pretend a wolf is trying to
5	eat me my sheep/
*6 Mr. E	now do you think it would be exciting if a wolf turned up /
7 Liam	=no=
8 Nobin	=no= it'd =be scary =

Liam's reading aloud of "if only a wolf would turn up that would be exciting" (lines 2 & 3) takes the shepherd boy's point of view. It is prosodically distinguished from the previous narrative and there is a rise-fall on "only" and "exciting":

then | one day he said | out loud |

if only a wolf would turn up |

that would be exciting |

The prosody of Mr. E's question is not congruent with the above intonation. It does not parallel the rise-fall tones on "only" and "exciting", and has one tone unit:

now do you think it would be exciting if a wolf turned up |

Also, there is the discourse marker "now" that can suggest a shift in the participation framework (Schiffrin, 1987, 240). The question is separated from the reading aloud. Mr. E is signalling that he wants participants to attend to something different, to go outside the recently read-aloud text, but not necessarily to express an opinion, which Liam does:

extract 6 (gr21)

9 Mr. E		well, do you think it would be boring, = would = you get bored
10 Liam		= yes, =
*11 Liam	=yes but i would play with them/	
12	(1)	
13 Mr. E	ye::s, but it could be, i can understand why he gets pretty bored can you	
14	imagine sitting there a::ll day watching the sheep eat alright, and big 15	
	sheep don't really like playing, you can play with the little lambs, but	
16	lambs ( ) just grazing ( ), now where do you think that story's taking	
17	place? is it in england or is it in pakistan?	

I'll now compare the above prosodic relationship to the relationship between Mark's reading aloud turn and Mr. E's question in the "boring job" exchange (above, beginning of section 6.3):

talk-about-text (1)

3	what a boring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
* 4 Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a bo::ring job/
5 ?	( )
6 Mr. E	= watching sheep, a:::ll da::y lo::ng/
7 Mark	=ye::s/
8 Mr. E	nothing to do/

The prosody of Mark's reading looks like this:

(a) what a boring job this is |

(b) watching silly sheep |

Mr. E's questions look like this:

(c) Mr. E do you think it is a boring job |

(d) Mr. E watching sheep all day long |

(e) Mark yes |

(f) Mr. E nothing to do |

Mr. E "question", line (c) above, parallels Mark's prosody in line (a). Mr. E then extends the question in line (d) in such a way that he continues to parallel Mark's reading aloud prosody in line (b). Mark promptly aligns himself with this assessment with his sound-stretched "yes" that continues the falling tones of "all day long".

Mr. E's questions are designed to fit Mark's previous oral reading turns. Mr. E is both doing something different, reformulating the read-aloud text, but at the same time directing students to what has gone before, Mark's reading aloud which is arguably in character. Mr. E is signalling to others that he wants them to attend to the particular narrative moment at hand: the shepherd's job being boring for the shepherd.

6.3.2 other readings of the "boring job" text

I'll now look at two other exchanges based on the same section of text.

6.3.2.1

In contrast to the "boring job exchange" looked at above, there is no talk about text following the reading of the same segment by a reader in another group:

extract 9 (gr20)

1	Sonia	adapted by pat edwards/ illustrated by peter foster/ once there was a
2		shepherd boy / who longed for adventure/ what a bo:::ring job this
3		is/ watching silly sheep/ eat, eat, eat, that's all they do all day/
4		nothing ever happens/ it's so dull and bo:::ring, then one day he
5		said out loud, if only a wolf would turn up, that would be
6		exci::ting/ and at once a wicked thought came to his mind, why
7		don't I pretend a wolf is trying to eat my sheep,
8	Mr. E	carry on please erm ali, can you stop writing please michael

Sonia uses a different voice to read the shepherd boy's speech. The beginning of the narrative - "once there was a shepherd boy who longed for adventure" - is spoken with a fairly even pitch. It is followed by two prosodic units that contain prominent high rise-fall pitch changes:

once there was a shepherd boy | who longed for adventure |

what a boring job this is |

watching silly sheep |

Sonia also manages to read this part in a way that emphasises "boring": it is read with a loud initial /b/ sound and a stretching of the subsequent vowel sound. Also, "silly" has a loud and distinct initial /s/.

The lack of response by Mr. E to the oral reading could perhaps be accounted for by referring to other events, e.g. time constraints, events in the classroom outside the group. But when taken into account with the kind of reading performance achieved, and

the kinds of options that we have seen are available within this kind of classroom practice, the lack of talk can be accounted for in a different way. The story moment that is embellished by Mr. E with the other group is dramatised in the reading performance itself. The reading aloud itself clearly expresses the story element which is replayed with the other group: the shepherd is *bored* and he is watching *silly* sheep.

6.3.2.2

Another group's reading aloud of the "boring job" stretch of text is followed by the same question from Mr. E:

extract 10 (gr19)

1	Mr. E	now, carry on please quoc hong
2	Quoc Hong	what a bo- boring job this is, this is/ watching silly sheeps/
3	Mr. E	do you think it <u>is</u> a boring job/
4	Jerome	<u>ye(h)s</u> h=hh=
5	Quoc Hong	=hhh=
6	Mr. E	right, carry on jerome
		.....
		((Mr. E smiles))

Quoc Hong's reading performance is quite similar to Mark's (talk about text (1), line 3, see section 6.3.1), except for his self correction of the prosody of "this is", read at first with a rising tone and corrected to a falling tone. As with Mark's reading, "what a boring job this is watching silly sheep" has, in the end, two prosodic units; and as before Mr. E's question is fitted to the first part of these units. This looks like (omitting the repaired section):

Quoc Hong what a boring job this is |

watching silly sheeps |

Mr. E do you think it is a boring job |

Jerome yes |

The main difference between this exchange and that which follows Mark's reading aloud (talk about text (1), lines 4-8, see section 6.3.1) is in the students' readiness to respond with laughter (lines 4 & 5) to Mr. E's reformulation of Quoc Hong's reading aloud (line 3).

6.3.3 implications

In making a link between reading-aloud and talk about text, I am not drawing attention to a common practice. Indeed, this prosodic tying of the teacher's questions to reading-aloud is quite rare in my data, although this is not a problem for the use I want to make of the analysis - to show how teacher and students are able to cooperate in making the event into a reading of a story.

I have characterised some of Mr. E's questions as a way of getting students to align themselves to the oral reading, and I have shown how this requires Mr. E to reformulate students' oral readings, re-animating the readings of story characters' speech. Students can then align themselves to both the teacher's re-animation and the original oral reading of the text. In doing this, students are *apprehending* the story text, recognising and appreciating a point of view that features in the story, but not going so far as to claim *comprehension* of the story.[1] I'll expand on this distinction below (in section 6.4.2).

Does the original "boring sheep" exchange (talk about text (1)) now at last look any different? After the analysis of this chapter, we can still recognise that the question gets students to align to a character's perspective rather than to challenge or compare it. *But rather than this being straightforwardly imposed on students, we can now see that it*

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[1] Reading-aloud in character, and the way others respond to this, is similar in some respects to making *assessments* in personal experience story-telling. This is a CA concept which captures the way stories are collaboratively constructed by narrator and story-recipients (Goodwin, 1984, Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987): the narrator proposes that a story element - an *assessable* - be responded to, assessed, in a certain way. For example, laughter particles within a lexical item invite the audience to respond by laughing. Listeners, if they want to align themselves closely to the narrator and his/her experience, respond by supplying, perhaps upgrading, assessments in tune with the narrator's. Also, assessments may be contested and alternative, competing assessments made.

The oral reading of a story is very different from the telling of personal experience: we cannot say that participants position themselves with respect to the readers' own experiences. But, participants can nonetheless align themselves to - *apprehend*, albeit temporarily, a particular story character's voice/point of view. Different story events may be proposed as important in various ways by both the reader and the audience. Just as with conversational story-telling, story reading and talk about text may together form a site for joint performance and contestation: story elements can be responded to in *assessment-like* ways.

Schegloff (1984 & 1997) makes a distinction between actions (e.g. assessment) and conversational practices (e.g. story telling), arguing that at times there is ambiguity for the participants as well as the analyst: e.g. a recipient may be unsure whether to treat a repetition (action) as a repair initiation or an agreement (practices). He argues for the analytic importance of those instances of actions/practices where actions are made to perform untypical work. Perhaps my data can show assessment-like actions being used in a story reading practice in creative ways, but we need more analysis, and maybe more data, to explore this idea.

draws on a practice of (re)reading sections of the text in the voice of story characters that occurs throughout this kind of event, and that the teacher is letting the students know - by using prosodic cues - that this is the practice he is calling upon. This is as much a student-initiated practice as a teacher-initiated one.[2] In fact it is hard to say who or where this comes from: are the students performing in this way for the teacher, or is the teacher responding to a more widespread practice (of story readers and audiences using prosody to take on different parts)?

6.4 reading-as-apprehension

Summarizing my argument so far in chapters 4-6:

- Taking actual reading events I presented an analysis of readers' competencies and teacher's strategies in line with Cummins' model and his view that everyday language-use is a foundation for the development of academic language-use (sections 4.3 & 4.4).
- I noticed that at certain points in this analysis quite large assumptions had to be made about how talk was working in interaction - the repetition of miscues and the nature of closed and open questions (sections 4.3.5 & 4.4.3).
- In order to supplement Cummins' model, and to bring together analytically the notions of reader competence and EAL pedagogy, I re-analysed those "problematic" moments from an ethnomethodological perspective (sections 5.3 & 5.4).
- However, these analyses did not offer a new perspective. The teacher was still seen as dominating, and students' oral reading turn keeping strategies, although clever, did not yet have much to do with understanding a text (section 5.5).
- Turning to the event as a whole, I identified different kinds of response to the text: animation of text in the voice of a character, global comprehension, and the telling of related personal experience (section 6.2).
- Returning to a particular moment in the talk-about-text data, I showed how a teacher's question is "read" by students: the teacher relates the prosody of his question to the oral reading prosody so that students know what kind of response is asked for (section 6.3).
- The "teacher domination" in the particular "boring job" exchange now looks more problematic, as students are apprehending rather than comprehending the text (section 6.3.3).[3]

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[2] Perhaps I am overstating my case. We can more certainly say that this practice draws on students' reading-aloud and talking about text practices.

[3] See my previous discussion of Baker and Freebody's line on this kind of exchange (sections 4.4.3 & 5.4). I'll return to this point in the conclusion to this chapter.

I'll now say more about the different perspective on reading that I have been working towards. This perspective will allow me to describe students' individual reading competencies in the same terms as the teacher's pedagogic strategies. It will also enable me to *explore how interactional analysis (conversation analysis or analysis of talk in interaction) can inform, or construct, the academic-everyday discourse distinction* (see section 4.1).

6.4.1 reader competence and pedagogy

I have been redescribing the reading event in order to shed a different light on EAL reading pedagogy and student reading competence, and so I will make some comments about how to more directly and systematically redescribe these.

6.4.1.1 an additional oral reading taxonomy

I have shown that students read in different ways, ranging from word by word performances - possibly highly skilled as performances of words but not as performances of the story - to performances of different characters and dramatic narrative moments. These differences in reading aloud style may be conceived, following Brazil (1992 & 1997), as differences in the way the reader is *engaged* in the *context of interaction*:

> it is possible to work on the basis of a centrally conceived phenomenon called 'interactive speech' in which participants consistently and in good faith orientate to each other's supposed view of the relevant circumstances surrounding the communication ... If we call this complex of circumstances the *context of interaction*, then we can call the speaker's propensity to take those circumstances into account his or her *engagement with the context of situation*. ... The central possibility that I set out to explore is that we can set up a working classification of acts of reading aloud by recognizing various *levels of engagement*. (Brazil, 1992, 210)

The lowest level of engagement is when readers:

> have no concern with the communicative possibilities of what they read, over and above that which arises unavoidably from the apprehension that it is a sample of language that they and those who hear them, know. (ibid., 211)

The fullest level of engagement involves the reader:

> seeing the text as the embodiment of a speaker's viewpoint, with assimilating that viewpoint to his or her own, and with creating notional hearers for whom the expressed information has relevance and who have a distinctive viewpoint of their own. (ibid., 222)

We can regard the analyses of the last two chapters as displaying oral readings with different levels of engagement. A highly engaged reading is one in which the

reader temporarily takes on the viewpoint of a story character, for example, Sonia's reading above (section 3.2.1). There is also a kind of reading that is more word-oriented, for example, Rezwana's reading aloud (section 5.3.2.2): in her oral reading Rezwana treats the text as a sample of language rather than a story. There is a third kind of reading: the reading aloud-turns of Christian and Marcus (sections 5.3.2.1 & 5.3.2.3) at times, in their more fluent moments, display an intermediate level of engagement. There are prosodic units, and certain words are stressed - some narrative elements matter more than others - but the readers do not clearly take on a character's perspective. Certain turn keeping devices (section 5.3.1) allow their readings to be heard as amounting to more than the reading of words, even when the reader is struggling with getting the words articulated.

6.4.1.2 EAL reading pedagogy

We can now add some refinements to those whole language strategies discussed in chapter 4 (section 4.2.3). I have characterised an otherwise undervalued (by analysts) kind of talk as providing an opportunity for the teacher to supplement the reading performances of the students, aligning them to an element of the story. And so this kind of talk can now perhaps be added to the earlier list (section 4.2.3) of EAL pedagogic strategies.

Other parts of these events can possibly be "revived". For example, the repair of a reading-aloud turn sometimes leads to talk about the meaning of a word. The teacher may not just be explaining the meaning of a word, but also highlighting a part of the story. (Heap also draws attention to how reading errors can get turned into word-teaching (see section 5.2).) For example:

talk about text (2)

1	Emmanuel	thought came into his mind why d::on't i,
2		(2)
3	Mr. E	what word is that does anybody know?
4	Christian	which one?
5	Mr. E	why don't i,
6		(2)
7	Mr. E	break the word up/
8	??	pret-
9	Marcus	mr edwards/
10	??	pret-
11	Christian	pretend/
12	Mr E	say it i heard it,
13	Emmanuel	pretend/

14 Mr E pretend good/

15 Emmanuel a wolf is tr- trying, to eat my sheep/

*16 Mr E what does it mean to pretend, if you're going to pretend that a wolf's

*17 = ( ) sheep, =

*18 V/rroy = fake it/ =

*19 Chris you're going to fake it all right, you're going to make it up//

6.4.1.3 problems with these additions

If my development of the "different perspective" stopped here, the point could be made that the rewards have not justified the hard work. I have suggested some minor additions to accounts of competencies and pedagogies which are extensions rather than recontruals of the original frameworks. These additions are minor, it could be argued, because I have not attended sufficiently to students' perspectives on these events. Some of the moral force of the separation of reading from teaching is gained from a desire to take account of students' own sense-making endeavours. My analysis has tended to focus on the event from the teacher's perspective: I have discussed student-teacher exchanges as ways *for the teacher* to make the event a certain kind of story reading and telling.

However, this kind of criticism is only possible when a strong distinction between analytic languages - between individual reading "processes" and teaching strategies and principles - is made. I need, therefore, to show more clearly the alternative to this, which involves being more parsimonious about the language used to describe the reading events, i.e. using the same analytic language for the teacher's and students' talk. This does not mean that notions of good and bad teaching, or effective and ineffective learning of reading, are irrelevant according to this new perspective.[4] But it does mean that these notions are to be informed by local criteria for what counts as reading, and so, I now need to give an account of what reading is for the participants.

The commitment to local rationalities need not involve relying solely on the teacher's rationality. In fact, although I have moved the analysis in the direction of looking at different ways the pupils are positioned in relation to the written text, this has involved seeing exchanges as jointly constructed. I need to make clearer the way Mr. E's talk in these reading events is related to students' sense making practices.

6.4.2 reading-as-apprehension and reading-as-comprehension

I'll firstly introduce the distinction between reading-as-apprehension and comprehension, made by Baker (1992) in his discussion of Koranic reading, and then

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[4] I'll discuss this issue more fully in chapter 7.

show how we can apply this distinction to all the data discussed in chapters 4 & 5, not just the "boring job" question focused on in this chapter.

Baker tries to do justice to distinctive meanings of the chanting of the Koran, carried out by initiates who have no knowledge of Arabic. Given the popular view of what reading is, or should be, Baker tries to understand how chanting can be a reading, and argues that it is a very different kind of reading from private reading which is aimed at understanding text for oneself. These readers of the Koran are *apprehending* rather than *comprehending*. One of the ways he explores this difference is by thinking about what it means to read aloud a name which has great religious and/or personal significance for the reader: the reader is not assimilating an idea, making a connection, but placing him/herself in relation to personal history or a religious tradition which the name evokes. Indeed, apprehending is not so much about understanding, but about recognising what there is to understand:

> Comprehension can be thought of as an activity by which one takes control of something by way of linguistic competence. That is, when something is comprehended it is taken in, included within a 'comprehensive' universe of structured ideas, explored operationally and reworked under the forces of predication (wedding generalised meaning to particular references) to emerge as recognisably the same thing, through transformed. When sense is 'made' out of some uttered statement, then something different can be said about it .... I will distinguish the notion of apprehension as an activity, inherent in the practice of communicating - and thus also in reading-, in which one confronts and takes hold of what there is to know and remember. In comprehending something one makes use of the verbs of predication to, as Ong (1967) puts it, 'bring an accusation to bear against a subject' (Ong, 1967, 157). In apprehending something one is involved in the less self-assured and more socially engaged process of coming to grips with what there is to know without necessarily knowing how to subject it to predication, that is, how to adequately comprehend it. As a first approximation of this, apprehension has more to do with substantive nouns than with verbs. And it has more to do with the give and take of words that one feels belong to things substantially (as a child does in learning a language) than with the creative competence to use words with conventional meanings to talk about things in ones own terms. (Baker, 1992, 107-108)

Reading-as-apprehension tends to be more about being jointly responsible for a shared orientation to a text, with little attention to the ways parts of a text are related to one another. Individual reading competence and pedagogy are less easily separated for this type of reading, as reading is about positioning oneself, and being positioned, in relation to others. Reading-as-comprehension is more about being individually responsible for ones own understanding, and relating parts of the text to one another. For this type of reading, it is easier to analytically separate reading competence and pedagogy. We can see, then, that the Cummins/Goodman model accounts for reading-as-comprehension only. (For Cummins/Goodman a reader encounters a text and constructs sense by making connections between his/her own knowledge and parts of the text.)

The events discussed in the last three chapters feature reading as both comprehension and apprehension. Reading-as-comprehension takes place when connections are made between sections of the text (section 6.2.2) and there is reading

aloud "in character" (section 6.2.1). My re-analyses of the last two chapters have highlighted apprehension. There are three kinds of practice that can be identified as reading-for-apprehension:

1. the turn-holding strategies of oral reading (sections 5.3.2.1 & 5.3.2.3);
2. the student's response to the teacher's re-reading of a story segment (sections 5.4.1, 6.3.1 & 6.3.2.2);
3. students' extensions to the "when do you think ..." sequence (section 5.4.2).

In all of these practices reader competence and pedagogy are hard to separate. Students and teacher are orienting to the text as a group using the same interactional mechanisms, and the relationship between Mr. E and the students is shaped by these. Taking the reading-as-apprehension practices in the same order as above:

1. The teacher's error-correction practice is closely related to the students' reading-aloud turn holding strategies. We would not make sense of what the students are learning to do - keep hold of their turns - if we didn't describe the teacher's error-correction strategy.
2. The teacher's re-reading of a story segment, and the way he prosodically marks this, cannot be understood apart from the oral reading practices of students.
3. The way students use an IRE sequence as an opportunity to narrate additional elements of the story, and the way the teacher adds his own narration by building his own turns onto the students' turns, again makes it hard to separate pedagogy from student competence.

A key aim of chapters 4-6 has been to bring together the two concerns of academic discourse competence and EAL reading pedagogy within an analytic approach that can supplement Cummins' framework. I'll summarise the progress made in this section:

- This reading event now looks different because there are different ways of reading that participants are orienting to, *apprehension* and *comprehension*
- Students' oral reading turn-keeping strategies can now be seen as part of the reading process: readers are positioning themselves as apprehenders of the text
- Pedagogy and student performance now share an analytic language. Competence and pedagogy can be explicated through an account of apprehension in this reading event. In addition to comprehending the text, both Mr. E and students are positioning themselves in relation to the text, apprehending it, in a variety of ways

Although I have said something about reading, I have not addressed the general distinction between everyday and academic discourse. I have explicated in previous

chapters Cummins' view that academic discourse should be developed from the contexts of everyday language-use, which relates to his view that teachers need to be responsive to the experiences that are brought to the classroom by students (sections 1.5, 1.6, 2.2, 2.3 & 4.1). I have started to suggest that there are limitations to the view (sections 1.4.2, 3.6 & 4.5), but have not used the data of chapters 3-6 to discuss this point.

Actually, the discussion of reading - academic discourse - in this section has not really taken into account the personal experience talk - everyday discourse - that I had earlier identified as part of this event (section 6.2.3). I'll conclude this chapter by making some points about this personal experience talk and how it is related to other kinds of talk, in particular, reading-as-apprehension. Returning then to the questions of the first three chapters that took me into this data, I can make a more general point about the relationship between academic and everyday language-use, providing a more complex picture of the boundary between discourses.

6.5 conclusion: the heterogeneity of classroom discourse

In this chapter I have recharacterised some exchanges as successful examples of different kinds of reading, apprehension and comprehension, rather than failed attempts at building on students' own experiences and everyday discourses. In this kind of oral reading event I have so far distinguished between between personal experience talk (everyday discourse), reading-as-apprehension, and reading-as-comprehension (academic discourses). However, I have only analysed the interactional differences between reading-as-apprehension and comprehension. I haven't looked at how reading is distinguished from talk about the students' own experiences.

These reading events are made up of heterogeneous discourses (personal experience talk, and reading-as-apprehension and comprehension). These discourses are not just different but are at times made incommensurate by the teacher. Reading-as-apprehension is prosodically oriented to the text - extends the text, so to speak - and personal experience talk is bracketed off from the oral reading of the text. Indeed, for the teacher personal experience talk can undermine reading-as-apprehension.

Returning to the above example of personal experience talk (section 6.2.3), we can notice how the teacher marks off the oral reading from other talk in line 2: the reader is thanked, a new activity is started with the discourse marker "now", and the teacher presents his own story:

extract 7 (gr6)

1	Jerome	and it's leaves darkened the window, and the whole room//
2	Mr E	right thank thank you/ now if we turn over there ( ) of those she said

3 jo often teased, I can remember going to my auntie's when I was, it was
4 a very big house it was very old, and I can remember my sister telling
5 me that there was ghosts that lived under the beds,

Personal experience talk differs from reading-as-comprehension in several ways: (1) there is much less use of lexical items from the text, (2) the teacher often interpolates his own anecdotes, (3) the activity of reading aloud is ended, and (4) there is more work done to mark the subsequent talk as different.

The similarities and differences between the three kinds of discourse can be summarised as follows:

reading-as-apprehension	**reading-as-comprehension**	**personal experience talk**
prosodically and lexically similar to oral reading	prosodically different, but lexically similar to, oral reading; use of discourse markers to signal a new participation framework	lexically different to oral reading; use of discourse markers to end oral reading and start a new activity; interpolation of teacher's anecdotes

This is not to say that everyday language-use does not play a part in these classroom events. On the contrary, the teacher shows students how to read a text by displaying differences between reading a text and personal experience talk that is merely triggered by it. For the teacher, the reading of the text involves putting to one side certain other ways of talking and thinking about topics that are brought to mind. Of course, students sometimes do not want to be positioned, to be on the way to a collective understanding of the text, and they express their own opinions - see Marcus' "you don't have to watch them" (section 6.3).

A number of recent studies of multicultural/lingual classrooms have used a range of concepts - "third space", "hybridity", "heteroglossia" - to explore the ways conflicting discourses can be transformed through classroom dialogue and negotiation (Gutierrrez, Baquedano-Lope, Tehada, 1999, and Kamberelis, 2001). Despite apparent incommensurability, discourses can be reconciled through students and teacher taking part in activities which involve mutual understanding and the sharing of various resources:

> The goal ... is to create rich zones of development in which all participants learn by jointly participating in activities in which they share material, sociocultural, linguistic, and cognitive resources. (Gutierrez, Baquendano-Lopez, Alvarez, and Chiu, 1999, 88)

Gutierrez et al discuss an after school computer club, "Las Redes", which brings together diverse linguistic and sociocultural resources in a playful environment to develop students' literacy skills. Hybridity is a key concept:

> For us, hybrid literacy practices are not simply code-switching as the alternation between two language codes. They are more a systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making process among those who share the code, as they strive to achieve mutual understanding. Las Redes is a system of activities that fosters and utilizes hybridity as integral to the social organisation of learning. Of importance is that learning in these contexts requires participants to negotiate their roles and understandings as they co-participate in various problem solving activities. (ibid.)

So, although the starting point is diversity and difference, the notion of hybridity expresses the idea of coming to a common understanding, sharing roles, agreeing on how to conduct an activity etc. Hybridity, then, is here a concept that suggests the overcoming of diversity rather than its recognition. Gutierrez et al cite an example of a teacher asking the question "what's sperm?" (official space), a student's reply with laughter "it's like a tadpole" (unofficial space), and the teacher's response with laughter "they look like tadpoles but they are not tadpoles" (hybrid space) (Gutierrrez, Baquedano-Lope, Tehada, 1999, 295).

It's quite hard to see such kinds of hybrid discourses in the way I have presented the reading event data of the last three chapters. Rather, reading-as-apprehension is marked off by the teacher quite clearly from the "unofficial space" of personal experience talk. The purpose of reading-as-apprehension, for the teacher and some students, is not to actually arrive at a joint, shared, and negotiated understanding of the text, but to be in a position to understand. Participants are constructing, or challenging, the boundary between reading-as-apprehension and personal experience, rather than trying to create a hybrid discourse of shared understanding which glosses over the differences between these "spaces". Readers can only get so far by reading the text in relation to their own particular experiences. And indeed Gutierrez's example can also be read in such a way that it shows the teacher displaying the limits of unofficial discourse: we can talk like this about sperm, but this won't get us very far in biology.

In sum, taking the reading aloud event as a whole, we can see that the boundary between academic language-use, reading-as-comprehension and apprehension, and everyday personal experience talk is being made by both teacher and students in interaction. My findings here - for example, that the teacher tries to keep talk about personal experiences apart from reading-as-apprehension - are in accord with other work which argues that classroom discourse is heterogeneous, made up of different ways of speaking. However, I also want to recognise that sometimes differences between discourses are not subsumed within one single shared way-of-speaking: academic discourses are sometimes defined (by participants, to one another) by their differences to everyday discourse.

My earlier analysis and discussion of the "imposition" of the teacher's readings (sections 4.4.3 & 5.5) depended on their being just one way that students related to the text. Since then I have characterised some of the complexity of these ways (teaching and learning reading covers a wider range of actions and talk), showing that participants have different ways of relating to the text. We cannot just assume that it is the teacher's

lack of recognition of alternative answers in the reading-as-apprehension "boring-job" exchange that subordinates students' own readings. This is because the students' competing readings in this data are not necessarily being treated as errors by the teacher when he attempts to get everyone to apprehend the text. Rather, the teacher is showing students that a different kind of reading is called for, a kind of reading that is shared and undisputable.

I am not denying that students' readings are being subordinated in certain respects in this data. But we can now have a different, ultimately more detailed, view on how subordination occurs, and what this means to participants. For example, perhaps a problem for some of these students is not so much the presence of reading-as-apprehension exchanges (actually quite rare in my data), but the lack of opportunities for other kinds of talk about text. When oral reading stops and the teacher cues a reading-as-apprehension exchange, some students may try to perform a different kind of reading not just in order to question the teacher's particular reading, but also to question that it should be indisputable. Marcus' point about not having to watch sheep is a way of bringing about a different kind of talk about the text, and so is a challenge to the teacher. My point, then, is not so much that we shouldn't talk about the subordination of students' individual readings, but rather that we are now in a position to show with greater clarity what subordination, and resistance, look like.

7 rethinking the theory-practice distinction in EAL

I distinguish three ways of characterising what I have done in chapters 4-6, corresponding to three stages in my argument and analyses. Firstly, my analysis is an extension of BICS-CALP, an identification of interactional mechanisms with which reading is bound up. Secondly, my analysis identifies additional ways of reading, and of evaluating reading, and so can supplement BICS-CALP. Thirdly, my analysis challenges (without undermining) the BICS-CALP distinction. The academic-everyday discourse distinction can be differently conceived: everyday language-use (personal experience talk) is at times displayed by the teacher as incommensurate with academic language use (apprehension of text). I have tried to bring pedagogic models, theory, into dialogue with practice, to shift from theory *to* theories.

I then return to the issues of chapter 1. Barnes' notion of language-learning reflexivity looks different: "language" is extended to a wider range of phenomena, and "learning" to more than relating old and new knowledge. The "problems" of current EAL change. We can start to ask new questions about everyday non-EAL classroom practice: How do teachers and students do language learning and teaching? How do teachers orient to language-learning needs of students? How can EAL intervention take these existing practices into account?

7.1 introduction

Seeing oral reading as a performance, and demonstrating the way a teacher orchestrates the appreciation of a story, may be viewed by an advocate of Cummins' model as only marginally relevant to reading pedagogy: teaching frameworks are necessarily normative, and I have merely added a descriptive layer without making what I say relevant to questions about good and bad reading, and effective ways of developing good reading.

Users of the model might say that for the moment it is the best one we have, and that my arguments have not changed their views on how it should be used. I've been, they might say, uncovering details about how the model can be applied, displaying what teachers and students are doing already without needing my kind of analysis: I've been more concerned with the description than with the evaluation of pedagogy.

In this chapter I'll argue that this criticism is based on a problematic distinction between practice and theory. I have already discussed the problem of my analysis being merely descriptive at various points in chapters 5 & 6 (see particularly sections 5.5, 6.4 & 6.5). I'll therefore start by drawing together and summarising my characterisations of the analysis and argument in chapters 4-6 in order to address the relationship between theory and practice more directly. I'll identify three ways of characterising what I have

done. My analysis (in chapters 5 & 6) extends, supplements and challenges current EAL models (and theories) of reading and BICS-CALP.

7.2 describing and evaluating reading pedagogies

As well as referring to my own empirical analysis in previous chapters I'll also refer to some key moves in a dialogue between Heap and Bereiter about the use of ethnomethodology (EM) in order to explicate my own analysis. I will then say something about two important EM concepts that can help me to do this.

7.2.1 my analysis as extending current EAL reading pedagogy

In chapter 4 I showed how Goodman's analysis of reading and the associated pedagogic models depends on unexplicated analyses of interaction (sections 4.3.4 & 4.4.3). Goodman and Cummins are mainly concerned with reading processes, whilst I have drawn attention to activities that attend these processes: students holding on to reading turns, reading aloud in character, and responding to a teacher positioning them in relation to the text (section 6.4.2). We can develop interactional analyses into extensions of existing EAL pedagogic and assessment models (section 6.4.1), viewing these additions as skills needed to develop comprehension. But what is the status of these skills? Are they effective at getting the readers to read any better? Is the answer to this question to be found within psycholinguistic theories of reading? Bereiter thinks so, and uses these to put Heap's EM analysis (section 5.2) in its place:

> Heap's fair-mindedness leads him to give the reading lesson more credit than it is due. ... Skilled comprehenders differ from less skilled ones in that they more actively monitor their comprehension, recognise and solve problems, demand coherence among propositions in the text ... Not only does the typical question-and-answer dialogue of the reading lesson not explicitly teach such procedures, it can even be seen as undermining them. (Bereiter, 1986, 65)

In his reply (1986) Heap characterises Bereiter's cognitive psychology and EM as having different aims. Bereiter is concerned with assessing the relative merits of different educational practices, and so addresses the question: how is reading best taught? EM, on the other hand, cannot directly contribute to the project of comparing teaching methods. Rather, it is concerned to answer the questions: How are reading lessons achieved? What is the point (function) of these lessons?[1] EM serves as a kind of sub-discipline of cognitive psychology:

> applied ethnomethodology looks at the activity structures which constitute traditional reading lessons and finds grounds for arguing that indirect comprehension instruction is the point of such lessons ... applied ethnomethodology is mute with respect to how valuable this indirect instruction

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[1] See section 5.2.

> is compared to that offered by other activity structures ... Applied ethnomethodology leaves it to applied cognitive psychology to make this judgement. However, the achievement of any such superior pedagogical function depends on some stable activity structures, which applied ethnomethodology is well-suited to study. (Heap, 1986, 74)

So far Heap's reply may appear as a rather inadequate defence against Bereiter's criticism about undue fair-mindedness: Bereiter's cognitive psychology tells us what reading is, and classroom events can then be assessed as more or less in line with this ideal. Heap would then be saying that EM can tell us about what else these events may be doing, and Bereiter's justified response would be that this "something else" is not relevant to reading, *a fortiori* the evaluation of a particular reading pedagogy.

It's important to be aware of the dangers of conflating different analytic orientations. And one way of putting this is to say that psycholinguistics and EM have different jobs to do. However, in using this functional metaphor we may be drawn to think that EM should comfortably fit in with, unproblematically apply, existing cognitive psychology-based pedagogic models. I have wanted to present my EM analysis as being more than an extension of existing EAL models of reading pedagogy. EM can amount to more than an "applied psycholinguistics". Heap's later work (see section 5.2 and below) on the nature of reading, and what it is to read well helps us to think of EM differently.

7.2.2 my analysis as a supplementary EAL reading pedagogy

My analysis has drawn attention to a different way of reading, reading-as-apprehension, and not just to another reading skill (section 6.4.2). This different kind of reading has its own norms, different from those of reading-as-comprehension. The model of reading that Cummins' BICS-CALP distinction affords starts to look not only incomplete but necessarily limited, as it draws on just one kind of reading.

Evaluation and description are bound up together. I've been drawing attention to a different kind of reading, reading-as-apprehension, which not only is a different activity, but has different norms. Heap says in his later work (e.g. 1991) that understanding the different natures of reading is at the same time understanding the different ways there are to read well. I'll now elaborate on this point.

Psycholinguistic theories of reading aim to provide a single model of what reading is. Reading is conceived as an abstraction, apart from particular reading practices. Although this theory may capture certain necessary conditions of reading - we could not read without a memory, for example - reading is essentially a cultural phenomenon. This means that reading is not just a process, but also an activity: reading necessarily involves (1) reading a certain kind of text (2) for a certain purpose (3) in a

certain way.[2] Norms of reading, being able to say what is good and bad reading, are dependent on text type and reading purpose. A person reading a newspaper at breakfast and a solicitor reading a legal document are engaged in very different practices with different criteria for what is to count as effective reading. Evaluating reading is bound up with the nature of the text and reading purpose. Psycholinguistic theories of reading such as Goodman's selectively abstract from reading practices. Certain texts and certain reading purposes are chosen for analysis, and reading these well or badly is then mistakenly deemed to be generalisable across *all* reading practices. However, evaluation and description cannot be separated in this way.

Returning to the discussion between Bereiter and Heap, we can now see that Heap's EM project of looking more closely at the variety of functions of classroom reading events can go to the heart of assessing reading, and reading pedagogy. Saying something about what is going on - for example, with Heap's data the point of a comprehension question, or, in the case of my data the nature of reading-as-apprehension - involves working out at the same time *what should be going on*, for these participants. For Bereiter, pedagogy is to be assessed in terms of its success in providing the means for the development of good reading, defined apart from classroom practices. For Heap this kind of assessment is part of understanding how pedagogic events work: evaluation and description are bound up together within the classroom environment. Reading becomes a more inclusive practice. My analysis in chapters 4-6 allowed me to include an otherwise overlooked set of interactions in this practice, so that reading is now a matter of apprehension as well as comprehension. Part of what reading well consists of, then, is to collaborate with others in apprehending text.

Although we are now able to value an otherwise neglected kind of reading, the question of the relative values of different kinds of reading is still begged. Can't Goodman and Cummins say that although there may be different ways of reading, they are not all crucial for their purposes - to teach comprehension and to develop academic language-use? For example, Cummins has recently advocated a *transformative pedagogy*, teaching students to not just understand and use academic language, but to critique it: "Transformative pedagogy uses collaborative critical inquiry to enable students to analyze and understand the social realities of their own lives and their communities" (2000, 260). Cummins wants a pedagogy which teaches:

> Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organisation, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse. (Cummins, 2000, 260 quoting Ira Shor)

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[2] I have already cited these ideas, at the beginning of chapter 5, and they have guided by analyses in chapters 4-6, but I now want to make more explicit Heap's views on the normative nature of reading practices.

In the face of this ambitious project, reading-as-apprehension may appear limited. Although my analysis draws attention to a different kind of reading it could be said by Cummins that it is perhaps, at best, an educationally insignificant one. There are, then, also problems with using my analysis to propose a supplementary set of priorities in reading pedagogy.

7.2.3 my analysis as a challenge to current reading pedagogy and BICS-CALP

Although reservations about the relative value of a kind of reading may be merited - reading-as-apprehension can perhaps be problematic as it can lead to over-dependence on the teacher - I haven't just been identifying an autonomous reading practice, separable from other pedagogic practices. I don't want to recommend a type of educational relativism in which whatever people consider to be competent reading should be valued.

My EM analysis in chapters 5 and 6 cannot be separated from the theoretical issues, exemplified by psycholinguistic theories of reading, which drew me into considering the data. An important outcome of the analysis is that EM informs dominant EAL educational theory which relies on psycholinguistics: in drawing attention to this different way of reading, I've been challenging Cummins' conceptualisation of everyday and academic discourse as completely commensurate (section 6.5).

I want to characterise my analysis of chapters 5 and 6 as not just extending and supplementing current EAL pedagogic models, but also challenging them. To help me make this point I'll use concepts drawn from EM.

EM investigates the relationship between theoretical accounts of social practices and those social practices as phenomena in their own right. There is a gap between the complexity of social events and what can be said about them - how they can be theoretically accounted for by using a formal language that abstracts from everyday social events. For example, during a conversation in an interview a professional may make certain judgments about what the client has told him/her. The professional and lay person may have, at times, radically different ways of describing the encounter: the professional may abstract certain details of the talk and transform them into a formal discourse, an *accounting practice*, whilst the lay person may be more likely to have a sense of the interview as a "lived" encounter. This transformation from lived to formalized experience is also achieved through sociological theory.

7.2.3.1 respecifying theory and making practice accountable

EM does not criticize sociological theories for glossing over local complexity. In fact, formal analysis depends on the analyst making all kinds of decisions about how order is constituted by the participants in a social event (Garfinkel, 1967). Formal

analysis is not possible without implicit *ad hoc* reasoning by the analyst. Where sociological analysis goes wrong, however, is to misrepresent sociological theory by thinking that there can be such a thing as an autonomous formal accounting practice. Formal accounts are essentially indexical: they depend for their sense on tacit knowledge about how they are to be used. Another way of putting this is to say that for EM it is possible to treat sociological theory as sets of instructions for the production of a social practice rather than explanations of these practices (Sharrock & Anderson, 1986, 18): like all instructions, these depend from the outset on practical knowledge about how they are to be followed in the face of various practical contingencies. A theoretical account of a social practice does not explain it. Rather, theory is one resource for enabling us to see how participants make practice meaningful for one another.

EM analysis takes topics from theories (accounting practices) and *respecifies* them through an investigation of the social practices that theories give accounts of. This is not in order to undermine sociology (or any other discipline or formal practice), but rather to supply what is missing after a formal account (Garfinkel, 1991, 1996, Garfinkel & Wieder, 1992). For EM, both professional analysts and lay participants in social practices are concerned with *the sociological phenomenon* - the social world that is "out there", organised and structured by participants before it theorised by analysts. Respecification, then, does not involve a total change in perspective - there is a continuation of the same interest in the sociological phenomenon - but the organisation of social practices by participants become relevant to an understanding of the formal schemas, oppositions, frameworks etc. that are used in theory-building.

So far I have referred to "social practices" and their "complexity", but have not really spelled out what this complexity amounts to, what is missed out of formal accounts. The other key concept of *accountability* can be used for this purpose. EM views everyday social practices, and thus language, as continuously making available to participants those accounts that sociology (amongst other professional practices) formalises. People do not just happen to find themselves in social events, acting as social participants: they display their participation, and they make manifest the nature of what it is they are doing so that other participants can understand. Giving accounts of social practices is always already happening, before we start to gloss these practices. For example, conversation analysis studies the accountability of talk. Conversational participants often do not just end a conversation but make a proposal to end the conversation, so leaving space for important talk to be introduced at the end: talk is designed not only to do something but to display to conversational partners what is going on.

7.2.3.2 respecifying educational theory

Although EM may have its historical roots in the discipline of sociology, it can be applied to a wide range of theoretical concerns in other social sciences.[3] Educational theory seeks to give a formal account of a social practice, and can be subject to EM respecification. For example, studies show how some students are excluded in social interaction,[4] how testing and assessment are performed in situ by depending on local rationalities that are not usually recognised,[5] how students are controlled and managed through various interactional resources,[6] and how learning is achieved within the classroom.[7]

These studies are all concerned to *describe* an aspect of the classroom, rather than to *explain* how it works. They seek to identify procedures that are used by the students and teachers to display to one another the nature (for them) of, for example, learning, lessons, and their identities as teachers and students. Hester and Francis (among others) point out the difference between an interest in *the local educational order* (the above procedures) and an interest in reading off other kinds of social order (for example class, power, ethnicity) from educational events (Hester & Francis, 2000). However, it is important not to slip into a form of empiricism. The EM project does not involve providing a *comprehensive* picture of "how things *really* are" in education. EM is not like a genome project (Lynch, 1993, 276), capturing the essence of classrooms or education. What makes these classroom procedures important is their relationship to a set of theoretical concerns. EM is in need of a theoretical discourse to reconstrue.

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[3] The concern with describing how social order is made by participants in everyday practices cuts across boundaries between disciplines. The objects of EM respecification are not independent and distinct theories, autonomous disciplines. Rather, we should have a picture of an open ended field of overlapping methodological and epistemological topics that both separate and relate different theories (Lynch, 1993 chapter 7, Lynch & Bogen, 1996, appendix).

[4] Some microethnographies of classroom and educational encounters are motivated by a concern with discrimination and exclusion in education (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982, McDermott & Gospidonoff, 1981, Varenne & McDermott 1998). Varenne & McDermott distinguish local meanings, e.g. a student counting herself out of reading aloud, from theoretical discourses, e.g. about the way "success" and "failure" operate in America. They say that culture and the individual agent should not be thought of as "two dead trees leaning on each other" (1998, 166). This concern to keep apart two mutually informing ways of understanding education is similar to Garfinkel's view that EM and social theory are *alternates* - incommensurate practices which depend on one another.

[5] Mehan (1996) and Heap (1980) argue that we need to take account of the way assessment gets carried out alongside other practices used by the student to make sense of tests.

[6] For example, the management of time and the way students are treated as a *cohort* (Payne, 1982, Payne & Hustler, 1980). These studies are partly addressed at the way educational sociology has prematurely read-off relationships of power from superficial descriptions of classroom talk.

[7] Mehan (1979) and French & MacLure (1979) look at how knowledge is produced through question-answer sessions: The teacher may guide the student to the correct answer by framing the question in certain ways. Indeed, one question may provide the context for an entire lesson (Hammersley, 1977). There is more to classroom discourse and learning than answering questions. Griffin & Mehan (1981) explore the role of ambiguity in classroom events, and Mehan and Griffin (1980) show how teachers can learn as much as students.

The pedagogies of Cummins and Mohan can be regarded as accounting practices. They set out to gloss classroom events, to transform a particular event into an event of a certain kind: an analyst will make claims about what participants are doing in relation to the theoretical categories available (e.g. BICS and CALP). So far in this chapter I've talked about reading. I'll now return to the more fundamental concepts that motivate the frameworks of Cummins and Mohan - the notions of everyday and academic discourse - placing these in an EM framework.

7.2.3.3 respecifying the distinction between academic and everyday discourse

Much EAL pedagogy identifies an important boundary between academic and everyday language-use: EAL students are not just learning language, but also learning about what makes classroom and educational discourse distinctive. Cummins and Mohan also draw upon a pedagogic tradition which places importance on "starting from where the children are at", and so there is an interest in modelling the path from the everyday to the academic.

In chapters 2 and 3, I looked at how the transition from everyday to academic discourse is characterised. Much current EAL pedagogy starts out with a definition of what academic and non-academic discourse amounts to, and applies this to classroom activities to see how effective they are at encouraging students to make this transition. For much current EAL pedagogy the important analytic question is: to what extent is the use of academic discourse facilitated in the classroom? As I argued in chapter 2 and 3, important aspects of a learning event are opaque to this kind of analysis. The relationship between academic and non-academic discourse is not seen as meaningful to the participants as they interact within the classroom event, and we don't see how everyday and academic discourses are at times competing against one another. (See, for example, my point, in chapter 2 (section 2.5) about the notion of scaffolding failing to do justice to the ways students' non-academic discourses bring about stresses and strains within academic discourses.)

In chapters 4-6 I have been posing a different, but related, question: how is the relationship between academic and non-academic discourse jointly constructed by students and teacher within classroom events? The classroom is a site for providing demonstrations of learning. This can involve identifying students' problems, lack of knowledge, and then displaying a remedy for this. Also, an important aspect of classroom events is the way students' existing competence is displayed. The question then is: What are the ways of showing students' non-academic competencies, the ways of talking and knowledge that are brought to the classroom encounter?[8] We should not

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[8] A number of EM studies have explored the relationship between academic and everyday knowledge For example, Macbeth is interested in how classroom instruction "installs" aspects of a "public" world within local classroom order (2000, 23). (c.f. Bernstein (1996) on the pedagogic recontextualisation of

assume that everyday discourse is just "there", brought along to classrooms - it is invoked, produced, represented, and shaped by teachers and students. I have pursued answers to these new questions by examining in some detail the way student readers are expected to respond to a read-aloud text, and to answer questions about it. The reading event as a whole involves the teacher displaying the difference between personal experience talk, related loosely to the text, comprehension, related more closely to the text, and apprehension of the text, even more closely related to specific parts of the text. Students have to distinguish (partly through detection of prosodic cues) between teacher questions that elicit a personal response to a read-aloud text, questions that involve addressing the text, and questions to be answered by attending to a specific part of the text and an authoritative reading of this (section 6.5).

My analysis is a respecification of BICS-CALP. The question "what's the difference between academic and everyday language-use?" becomes a problem for teachers and students, and in the case of reading we can regard the various means of distinguishing apprehension and comprehension from personal experience talk as their way of addressing this problem. I have respecified everyday and academic language-use as at times constructed by participants as incommensurate ways of speaking. This respecification challenges Cummins' model:

- there are now academic discourses rather than a single discourse
- students and teacher creatively produce, and act within and between, academic and everyday discourses
- there is more interest in difficulty and conflict within classrooms

Although at times we need to focus on how academic and everyday discourse are brought together for and by the individual student, looking at how text comprehension is built onto what readers bring to the text, it is also important to make distinctions between text apprehension, comprehension, and relevant personal experience talk. Classroom discourse is at times heterogeneous.

I have claimed that the criteria for reading well, and learning reading skills well, are to be found partly in the particular reading activities in which a teacher and students are jointly apprehending story elements. There are two points that follow: (1) these reading events, although flawed and perhaps less effective than many other practices, have educational value; (2) making changes to improve the learning of reading cannot

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non-educational discourses.) The doing of science in the classroom can involve displaying a gap between students' everyday descriptions and the science introduced by the teacher. Mathematical problem solving can depend on the teacher giving an account of what the student is not able to do, before showing the student how the problem can be solved (Macbeth, 1994). See also McHoul and Watson's analysis of the way teaching geography involves an upgrading of everyday descriptions of location (McHoul & Watson, 1984).

happen purely from the application of psycholinguistic theory - attention must be paid to the theories of teachers and students in existing classroom practices.

A respecification of BICS-CALP theory locates it in, and confines it to, its quite particular place. We see the BICS-CALP model as having particular intellectual commitments and moral demands which are different (but also in some respects similar) to those intellectual commitments and moral demands of classroom practices (explicated by EM). We need to see what is at stake in theories and practices: I have drawn attention to the way my EM analysis of reading-as-apprehension fits in with a view of classroom language use as heterogeneous, to be contrasted with Cummins' view of BICS as foundational for CALP.

7.2.4 rethinking the relationship between practice and theory

I now want to make a general point about the importance of combining theory with practice, with these two terms being understood in very specific ways. Educational practice should not be seen as the operationalisation of educational theory. The theory-practice distinction is not a distinction between thinking and doing, knowledge and action, or ends and means. Rather, I want to draw attention to a productive relationship between theory and practice as two "socially embedded human activities, each with its own intellectual commitments and moral demands" (Carr, 1993).

Carr provides a very useful way of thinking about theory and practice. Theory, according to his view, makes use of technical knowledge and has a means-ends logic. In theoretical activity there can be a specific end which is known about apart from the activity that brings about its production. So theories of reading, and theories of academic language development, help us to decide how to bring about certain educational outcomes - for example, we can learn to read by being encouraged to use our everyday knowledge and to make connections between textual elements. Practice, on the other hand, has meanings that are to be discovered and understood through the performing of actions. Reading practices, which can help us to respecify these theories, involve teachers and students *finding out* both how reading ought to be taught and what is to count as reading.

7.3 respecifying EAL

I'll now return to consider how my analysis of chapters 4-6 relates to the themes of chapter 1 - the notion of language-learning reflexivity (that learning is bound up with language-use), the current state of EAL, and recent discussions about reorienting EAL to language teaching and learning.

7.3.1 language-learning reflexivity

The notion of language-learning reflexivity, which provides a rationale for mainstreaming and which is explicated by Barnes (section 1.2), appears at first to assume an inclusive view of both language and learning. Learning according to this view involves having something different to say about something. In chapter 1, I cited Barnes' example of how learning about Saxon history is bound up with making verbal connections in a conversation. Learning about the relationship between the physical environment and the processes of human settlement involves exploring in a conversation the constraints and resources of, for example, forests, and how these constraints and resources relate to talk about the needs of the settlers. For Barnes there is no short-cut though conversations in which participants verbally explicate problems, solutions, and their relationship.

EM has a view on the relationship between talk and learning which at first seems similar to Barnes' explication of the language-learning relationship: classroom talk is "a matter of talking through a subject in such a way that it can be learned" (Sharrock & Anderson, 1982, 171). EM asks the question: how do participants use language in accounting to one another for what they are doing as learning a subject? However, EM is also different in important respects: there is a broader notion of language-use, so there is a shift from conversation to discourse and talk in interaction; the academic-everyday language-use relationship becomes more complex and varied, so classroom language-use can be seen as heterogeneous.

It would be hard to see reading-as-apprehension as having much to do with learning if we stayed with Barnes' notion of language-learning reflexivity. I have shown how personal experience talk - the kind of free-flowing conversation that Barnes sees as essential for learning - is separated by the teacher from reading-as-apprehension. However, if, taking a broader view of language (or language-use), we attend to features of talk in interaction (such as prosody), then we can start to see students learning how to read in a variety of ways. At times students are positioning themselves in relation to a text, not necessarily understanding it and displaying their understanding through talk, but recognising its importance, placing themselves within (an)other's understanding. This is learning, but not, as viewed by Barnes, as having something to say. Students are learning what reading-as-apprehension means and how it differs from other kinds of reading and talk about texts.

Barnes' notion of language and learning have turned out to be quite limited: language-use and learning are conversation-centred, not taking into account the different ways learning may take place in much less verbalised and more provisional ways. Indeed language-use for Barnes often means a certain kind of conversation in which a discipline is explicated through students willingly displaying their understanding of the conceptual connections. But language-use is more than conversation (section 1.4.1), and

learning is more than Barnes' kind of compliant display of understanding (section 1.4.2).

7.3.2 the role of the EAL teacher

What implications does my analysis have for current EAL practice? One way of putting this question, by linking it to one particular aspect of the EAL struggle for a discipline-identity, is to ask: What role am I advocating for the EAL teacher? To address this question, I'll make some comments about what *partnership teaching* can mean and characterise my analysis of reading (chapters 4-6) as one way for EAL to become more open to other, rather neglected, "unplanned EAL" educational practices.

The turn to language teaching discussed in chapter 1 implies that EAL teachers should have a particular body of knowledge:

> For ESL specialists, an in-depth knowledge about language learning and the English language is required. They will also need expert knowledge and skills to assess the ESL pupil's learning needs in terms of the English language and curriculum content, and how to promote learning in the mainstream classroom context. (Leung & Franson, 2001, 206)

This kind of specialism does not break with the model of partnership teaching that has informed EAL. Rather, the EAL specialist through this expertise is to have more to bring to their partnerships with mainstream teachers. But what exactly does "partnership" mean? It has meant a lot more than two teachers working together:

> Because there is no simple 'methodology' and no single set of teaching skills, it is probably best to think of language support work as a form of 'action research', where observation, discussion with pupils and parents, experimentation with new approaches and careful evaluation can lead to an improved, shared understanding of classroom processes and of the responses of individual pupils within these. This is the position taken in Partnership Teaching. ... Co-operative teaching is where the language support teacher and the class or subject teacher plan together a curriculum and teaching strategies which will take into account the needs of all the pupils in the class. ... Partnership teaching (is) co-operative teaching plus! It builds on and extends the concept of co-operative teaching by linking the work of the two teachers in the classroom with plans for curriculum developments and staff development across the school (Bourne & McPake, 1991, 12)

This gets us a little further than "teachers working together", but leaves unspecified what "observation", "discussion", "experimentation", "evaluation", and "action research" means.

The question in recent EAL has been: How can we think about, draw together, and prioritise the variety of possible roles for an EAL specialist - as researcher, advocate (for EAL students) (Cummins, 1996, 162), intermediary (between EAL students and teachers) (Dudley-Evans, 2001, 227), and teacher trainer (of class and subject teachers)?

These questions are made more urgent by the present situation in English EAL education. There are anxieties about EAL becoming lost as a specialism, becoming a series of *ad hoc* pragmatic additions to the curriculum (Leung, 2001). These are

well-founded fears, particularly given current English educational policy. EAL students have been "mainstreamed" and are seen as having a variety of needs that can be subsumed within existing accounts of "special needs" and "student diversity". (See section 1.1 & 1.2.) In the face of this invisibility, it is necessary to prioritise and publicise the needs of EAL students. Similarly, EAL teachers have been mainstreamed. For EAL to survive it needs to stake a claim professionally, and this requires the production and recognition of a professional body of knowledge about language-use and language learning. Institutionally EAL is pushed to the margins, and so EAL departments and teachers need to have more control of teaching and learning encounters.

However, I think that we need to distinguish between arguments for raising the profile of EAL in the face of professional, institutional, and moral attacks from a concern with making EAL pedagogy distinctive. There is a danger that the campaigning aspects of EAL - and its references to the distinctivess of EAL as a discipline (NALDIC, 1999) - dominate the answering of questions about EAL pedagogy. EAL can be distinctive professionally and institutionally, but this doesn't mean that its pedagogy has to be always highly visible in everyday classroom practice through EAL intervention (e.g. partnership teaching).

Perhaps EAL educationalists can afford to be less anxious about the dissipation of EAL as a classroom practice: teaching and learning academic discourse is still an educational phenomenon even when there is no partnership teaching and no focus on language form.

New questions become relevant with this slight shift in thinking. In addition to asking about how EAL interventions can be made in everyday classroom practice, we can now also ask about the ways that teachers and students are already at work making their own theories about academic discourse learning. This new framing of the problems means that current EAL can continue to place emphasis on dialogue between specialist EAL teachers and others (and even campaign for EAL to become linked to a school subject, for example, Critical Language Awareness), but now there can be a greater recognition of the range of perspectives on academic discourse available in current "mainstream" practice.

7.4 conclusion

I have argued for a rethinking of the distinction between academic and everyday discourse in EAL pedagogy, and of the relationship between theory and practice. One of the consequences of this is that there should be a greater interest in the many different ways that academic discourse teaching and learning is already taking place in ordinary classrooms where there is no overt language support. One of the main concerns at the moment in EAL is to develop frameworks which enable classroom tasks to be more

carefully planned for, and to enable EAL and class teachers to work together to achieve this (e.g. Gravelle, 2000, Bourne & McPake, 1991). There is a distinction often made between (1) practice that involves compromise by EAL teachers, when partnership teaching cannot take place, and EAL teachers become classroom assistants, and (2) good language support practice, when language learning aims are identified, and there is a focus on how these are to be achieved in a specific curriculum area and classroom activity (e.g. Blair and Bourne, 1998). This distinction is undoubtedly an important one to make at some levels, for example for professional development purposes, but it may at times blind EAL teachers and others to much "unplanned" language learning already going on. Maybe EAL specialists have more to learn than they realise from what is currently going on in "flawed" practice, and even from those practices that give them a low professional status.

In this and the last chapter I have made some quite general points about the importance of recognising heterogeneity in academic discourse. However, I have not yet proposed an alternative EAL pedagogic model, and the feature of heterogeneity is rather abstract for this purpose. EAL pedagogy has drawn on various notions of narrative, and so it seems worthwhile to look at these to see if they can be of use in mediating between the kind of empirical analysis I carried out in chapters 5 and 6 and the more abstract points in chapters 6 and 7 about heterogeneity in academic discourse.

8 towards a role for narrative in EAL pedagogy: an assessment of alternatives

The concept of narrative can be used in a new EAL pedagogic framework: (1) critiques of scientism in the human sciences use the notion of narrative in ways that are in line with my arguments in chapter 7 about the need to rethink the practice-theory distinction; and (2) narrative figures in educational theories that prioritise learners' particular sense-making experiences (again, in line with my arguments in chapters 2 & 3 about the gaps in Cummins' model). However, at times narrative stands for not much more than a qualitative approach to educational research and it's quite hard to know what the notion of narrative refers to, empirically. For my purposes I want a concept of narrative that can identify and characterise the making of the boundaries between academic and everyday discourses, and can take account of students' and teachers' own sense-making practices. My task, then, is to look at existing educational uses of narrative, particularly those that current EAL draws on (albeit rather simply).

I refer to some work on EAL pedagogy that makes use of the notion of narrative, identifying four different approaches. My aim is to assess these four approaches by (1) making clear the nature of their concept of narrative, and (2) identifying the aspects of classroom events that are prioritised. Turning to work outside of EAL, I assess the use of story as a curriculum "vehicle". I then look at the use of narrative in process writing. I identify limitations with both approaches: students' own sense-making practices are marginalised, and narratives are viewed as performance blueprints. Thirdly, I assess the role of narrative in genre theory. Classrooms become places for the passing on of texts, and narratives are viewed as texts with particular purposes. I finally look at some ethnographic treatments of narrative, and the ways these impact on pedagogy. I identify the ways these approaches offer a more promising analytic orientation to classroom events, drawing on a different view of narrative. Ethnography addresses the question: how do "successful" narratives work in the classroom? Ethnography takes participants' perspectives seriously and can show how the academic-everyday discourse boundary is constructed within the classroom. This requires a different notion of narrative: as a privileging of experience which may take a variety of discourse forms, and which can be used to challenge established dichotomies. Hymes' version of ethnopoetics seems to build on these notions of narrative: it makes writing look like speech, it focuses on the writer's relationship to reported experiences, and it crosses boundaries between discourses.

8. 1 introduction

In chapters 1-3 I showed how Cummins and other EAL educationalists have broadly identified the distinctive task that EAL students are faced with: students not only have to learn a language, but they must learn academic discourses. I agreed with Cummins that this view does not entail isolating academic language from students' non-academic discourse. Indeed, an important strand of this EAL pedagogy aims to represent the way academic language and knowledge can be developed from what students bring with them, from their existing non-academic ways of using language and making sense. In chapters 2-3 I showed how Cummins viewed the relationship between academic and everyday language-use in terms of a distinction between writing and speech, and how his framework models students' transition from speech to writing.

However, Cummins' abstractions cannot give us a sense of what the speech-writing distinction means for the participants themselves. There are limits to Cummins' framework, which I have characterised in chapters 2-3. Another way of putting this is to say that Cummins' pedagogic model does not do justice to context, and that therefore what is needed - to supplement, modify, or even challenge the models - is an additional pedagogic perspective that can capture those aspects of context that elude Cummins. I have argued that we need another framework which is more focused on participants' individual perspectives.

In chapters 4-7, I may have added complexity to Cummins' model, and this can be of some help in identifying additional teaching skills and learner competencies for this particular kind of event, reading aloud. But I am no nearer an alternative or supplementary model of language and pedagogy: teachers cannot do an interactional analysis for every kind of classroom event; and the points made in chapters 6 and 7 about the heterogeneity of classroom discourse are rather general.

What does a pedagogic model do? It helps us to point out relevant aspects of classroom and educational reality for a particular purpose. I want an EAL pedagogic model now to draw our attention to new connections and redescribe other teaching and learning events in line with my previous discussions and analyses in chapter 5, 6 & 7. *I have wanted to supplement one set of questions - concerning academic discourse competence and its development from everyday discourse competence - with another - concerning how the boundary between everyday and academic language-use (and thus the commensurability and incommensurability of discourses) is produced by students and teacher. The task of a new model is to allow us to build on the insights about reading and to extend them to other kinds of classroom event.*

A pedagogic framework that prioritises narrative may be able to supplement Cummins' model. Narrative can perhaps serve as a "speculative instrument" (Berthoff, 1993, 175), drawing attention to aspects of classroom contexts neglected by existing EAL pedagogic frameworks. There are two reasons for thinking that narrative may be

useful for my purposes: the "narrative turn" in the human sciences, and the use of the concept of narrative in recent work within education.

It's said that there has been a radical shift in thinking, a "paradigm shift", within the human sciences (Polkinghorne, 1988, Bruner, 1986, Lyotard, 1979, Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). Rather than constructing natural scientific models of, for example, the mind or society, human science is finding new objectives and ways of characterising what it should be doing. Human science is moving away from earlier rule-oriented explanations of human behaviour, removed from the understandings of participants (Carr's and Kemmis' notion of theory as technical knowledge discussed in section 7.2.4), towards a methodology which takes account of these everyday practices and understandings (Carr's and Kemmis' notion of practice). This shift is sometimes characterised in terms of the idea of narrative:

> the turn to narrative as an organizing concept in various fields can be viewed as a classical paradigm shift, one that leads away from nomological models towards a more humanistic approach to the study of diverse individuals and groups ... many narrativists challenge long-standing psychological and social-scientific efforts of elaborating a body of authoritative knowledge like that of classical natural science. This sort of project seems ... to be somewhat misguided, problematic, even repressive, because it presumes that there could be (or should be), today, a body of indisputable truth: an authoritarian 'grand narrative'. ... 'Story telling becomes ... an act of resistance against a dominant Cartesian paradigm of rationality' (Lewis & Hinchmen, 1997, xiv) ... we can conceive of this anti-Cartesian orientation as part of an even more general post-positivist movement. This trend is associated with further shifts in the architecture of the human sciences, shifts that have been variously dubbed as interpretive turn, discursive turn, cultural turn, and ... post structuralist turn. (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, 8-9)

My own analysis of reading in chapters 4-6 has started out from an account of psychological reading processes, initially designed to represent mental states and processes, and moved to an interpretive account, which aimed to capture some aspects of the ways readers were making sense of their own practices.

Secondly, narrative figures more specifically in recent paradigm shifts in education (Bruner, 1996, Hopkins, 1994, McEwan & Egan, 1995). In telling a story a narrator expresses a point of view bound up with his/her own experience. By identifying the occurrences of stories within classroom events, or introducing stories to the classroom, we can start to relate academic knowledge and discourse with individual students' experiences and perspectives. (One of my criticisms of Cummins' model in chapters 2 and 3 was that students' perspectives and discourses were largely overlooked.) Without a narrative dimension, education is overly scientific and impersonal:

> A system of education must help those growing up in a culture find an identity within that culture. Without it, they stumble in their effort after meaning. It is only in the narrative mode that one can one can construct an identity and find a place in one's culture. (Bruner, 1996, 42)

These perspectives on narrative, human science, and education do not so far draw attention to *empirical* features of classroom discourse: students' and teachers' own distinctive and varied discourses; the making of boundaries between academic and everyday discourses within the classroom; and the ways that this boundary-making can at times render academic and everyday discourses incommensurate. At the moment it's hard to see narrative as anything more than a metaphor for the need for qualitative research in education.

In the next section I will identify four different approaches to narrative in EAL. These can be linked to four broader approaches in a non-EAL context. My overall aim is to review and assess the different ways that the concept of narrative has been used in work on classroom pedagogy. This assessment has two related parts: I will (1) identify the features of the notion of narrative that play a defining role in the pedagogy, and (2) look at the nature of the particular classroom events that the concept of narrative draws attention to, or brings about, keeping in mind the empirical features of the above paragraph. Although I am not aiming to directly critique views of narrative, I will be drawing attention to the links between (1) and (2): if we find that our view of classroom events is restricted, this will have much to do with the concept of narrative we are using.

8.2 EAL pedagogy and narrative

The approaches in this section draw on a range of methods and theories developed in other non-EAL contexts: I do not want to portray this work as having a fully worked out narrative pedagogy, but rather to show that there is some interest in narrative already. The approaches are related, but their priorities are different.

The first approach claims that stories have a special importance for the teaching of the whole curriculum to EAL learners. Garvie's (1989) teaching framework, specifically developed for EAL learners, is based on the use of stories. Stories are seen by Garvie as "vehicles", the best way of delivering academic content. She argues that stories are able to "deliver" academic language, enabling at the same time "a flow" of social talk that can then be used to build academic content onto.

Other EAL (early years) educationalists make a rather different argument for the importance of stories. Story acts as a way of connecting home and school. For example, Gregory's (1996) approach combines a concern with the experiences and practices that children bring to school - an "inside-out approach" - with a model of how story books can draw children imaginatively into a "new world" - an "outside-in approach". The former approach involves developing texts through *language experience* and *process writing* techniques (e.g. transcribing children's own utterances to then create texts) that are set within drama, play, and activities that allow children to make links between home and school. The latter approach involves using story books to introduce children

to the linguistic and cultural practices of their new worlds.[1] The two approaches need not be separated in practice. For example, Gregory's suggested programme of play. puppet work, and text-formation is combined with an awareness that these practices may be at odds with some of the parent and child expectations when they first come to school.

Thirdly, genre-based approaches to teaching literacy - mediated through the *Writing Frames* approach (Wray & Lewis, 1998) - have been applied in EAL contexts (Brent Language Service, 1999, Islington Language Service, 1998). Narrative serves as one genre (text-type) amongst others.

Finally, there is a perspective on pedagogy (e.g. Au, 1979 & 1998) which arises from (mostly North American) ethnographic studies centred on the relationships between classroom practices and home and community cultures (e.g. Trueba, Guthrie & Au, 1981, and Heath, 1983). The main point of these studies is to encourage classroom practices to be influenced by home and community practices, so that students can adapt more easily when school culture is very different to their home and community life. Narrative features as one very important variable cultural practice.[2]

All of the above approaches rely on, and can be exemplified by, more fully developed ideas about narrative developed elsewhere. Therefore, in order to explore just what the concept of narrative can do in an EAL context, I will need to turn to work that is not explicitly EAL oriented. I will firstly look at the notion of story as a vehicle for content.

8.3 narrative as a foundation for the curriculum

I will (1) draw attention to some work that makes general points about narrative and education, (2) outline a well known teaching framework, and then (3) identify problems with this framework and the thinking behind it.

8.3.1 narrative and learning

It has been argued that narrative is too often effectively excluded from the curriculum in a mistaken quest for formality and abstraction. This emphasis on abstraction is mistaken because disciplines within the curriculum are essentially related to narrative (Rosen, 1985 & 1993). Rosen argues that narrative meanings are built into

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[1] See also Hester (1992) for examples of practical teaching materials and tips.

[2] These interests are not just confined to North America. They are also influential in England, but without such an emphasis on narrative. For example, Kenner (1997) argues for the benefits of children's home literacy practices being exploited in the nursery classroom so that bilingual writing is encouraged as children develop their writing at these early stages. Luke and Kale explore a bilingual six-year-old's home literacy practices and argue for the classroom to be a site in which these home practices are exploited (1997).

every aspect of the natural and social sciences, so that chemical reactions, biological processes, geological theories, historical accounts are kinds of stories. Narrative should thus animate the curriculum, not just as a crucial addition but as a way of ensuring that it is meaningful in the first place.[3]

Rosen's claim is speculative: he claims that narrative is fundamental, but has left to others the work of developing these ideas in an educational context, practically and theoretically. Rosen argues that oral, particularly autobiographical, story telling, should lie at the heart of English teaching, but he has little to say about how other parts of the curriculum can be narrativised, and what narrative means in these wider contexts.

Recent work which could be viewed as an elaboration of Rosen's ideas include Burton's paper, 'Mathematics, and its Learning, as Narrative': narrative for Burton is "a way of imposing coherent meaning on experience" (1996, 30). Also, Hopkins' educational philosophy treats narrative as a "root metaphor" that assists in the advocacy of a pedagogy rooted in the learners' "unique experience" (1994).[4] This work, however, does not get us much further in applying Rosen's claim to classroom practice: it is hard to see the concept of narrative doing much more than opposing learning that is formal and abstract.

A teaching framework that seems to have a better defined notion of narrative, and may be more empirically oriented, has been outlined by Egan.

8.3.2 a narrative framework

The work of Egan provides a teaching framework in which narrative plays a foundational role in the elementary school curriculum (1988 & 1993). This framework is aimed at relating the concrete (e.g. focus on family) to the abstract (e.g. conflicts between good and bad). The appeal of literary stories to young children shows that they can understand and use abstract concepts (to make sense of stories) without necessarily being able to define these concepts and talk about them directly. Egan proposes, then, building the elementary school curriculum onto this ability. But how can this be done?

Stories involve, for Egan, the introduction of "binary opposites". These drive the story on, providing dramatic conflict of some kind. This conflict is then resolved: the story is brought to an end, and we are then able to impose an order on the conflict. This view of narrative serves as a pedagogic model: (1) an important question or issue is identified within the topic to be taught; (2) binary opposites are chosen which are relevant to this question or issue; (3) a story form (with a dramatic conflict) is then

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[3] Although Rosen does not cite Polkinghorne, his work on the "narrative turn" in the human sciences could be used to support this claim (1988).

[4] Similar points are made by Lemke about science in the classroom without mention of narrative: he shows how teachers can miss the way students' are making their own sense of particular scientific concepts (Lemke, 1990). He does this by looking closely at the lexical relationships in student-teacher talk.

created which "embodies" these; and (4) a resolution is brought about that acts as "mediation". This model is applicable, he argues, to all parts of the curriculum.

Egan gives an example of using narrative to teach the topic of community. Firstly, an issue of importance is identified: that children "take for granted" the organisation of their everyday lives. Under the surface "there are vital needs being met, desperate fears being allayed, incredible hopes being made possible" (1988, 43). Secondly, the opposition of survival-destruction catches the importance of the topic and is part of the "prominent conceptual forms the child already has in place" (ibid., 44). Thirdly, a story is constructed: the class is part of a community cut off from the world and has to solve the resulting survival problems, e.g. how to get nutritious food. Lastly, the problem is resolved in some way, perhaps through recourse to a fictional narrative: "A confirmation of the wonderful achievement of the Community in providing for our needs and desires might be presented by means of a concluding story which brings together all the material dealt with" (ibid., 51).

This model raises many issues, but I will focus on the role of the concept of narrative.[5]

8.3.3 problematising the model

Egan claims to provide a framework that is rooted in children's actual "sense making" but he fails to do this. In the example cited above, Egan does not show how the topic of community matters to children, nor do we see how "survival-destruction" is an opposition that a child uses. This is a crucial point, and reflects a weakness that runs through Egan's narrative pedagogy. For Egan, narrative oppositions have to matter to children and be part of their "conceptual world". However, this always remains merely a claim about children's responsiveness to stories that include these oppositional structures.

Egan views narrative purely in terms of relationships between concepts at an abstract level of meaning: binary opposites get developed, mediated, and reconciled through a plot. This view of narrative, rather than responding to the sense-making practices of children, credits them with an understanding of a highly particular kind of narrative. For example, why are binary opposites so important? Why are no narratives considered which involve relationships between three, five or seven concepts (Hymes, 1996, chapter 6)? The features of ambiguity and play figure in many literary narratives (Bakhtin, 1981). In fairy stories meaning does not always reside in clearly delineated oppositions, and these oppositions are not always so easily "reconciled" in the face of

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[5] For an exploration of these wider issues - and various critiques - see the 1993 issue of Linguistics and Education (volume 3, 119-224).

impossibility and play. Dickenson and McCabe say, in commenting on Egan's concept of narrative:

> *mediation* of binary terms of conflicts may also be an oversimplification of the point of fairy stories ... For example Needham ... remarked 'The idea in question is that myth works progressively toward the resolution of contradictions: in other words, that myth is not only an intellectual construction but also a discursive instrument of logic.' ... Needham highlighted the delightfully illogical impossibilities that abound in such fiction, as well as a 'positive proclivity to imaginative disorder' ... Certainly some of the children's own fantasy productions seem at least to flirt with the triumph of chaos over order. (Dickenson & McCabe, 1993, 191)

In fact, young children's own story-telling practices display "the bare bones of narrative grammar", which are varied "in an individual and often egregious manner" (Sutton-Smith, 1995, 75). This observation need not be just a way of widening Egan's concept of narrative: Sutton-Smith argues that rhyme, repetition, alliteration are used in "polymorphously perverse" ways (ibid., 82) that suggest that we are profoundly "multivocal" (ibid., 83).[6]

We may not want to go quite as far as Sutton-Smith, and for my purposes we do not have to decide on this question about human nature (if that is what it is). My point for now is that Egan is not basing a pedagogy on children's endogenous talk and sense-making (either inside or outside the classroom), but on (1) his own notion of what children like about fictional narrative, and (2) a theory of how these kind of narratives are put together. There is a neglect of students' and teachers' own narrative and non-narrative practices in favour of his own view of which kind of narrative should matter most.[7]

Another approach to narrative, which may seem at first to pay much more attention to students' own sense making practices, is that involved in *process writing*.

8.4 narrative, process writing, and the integration of speaking and writing

Narrative plays a key role in process writing, an influential approach to the teaching of writing. One of the main principles of process writing is that speaking and writing need to be integrated, both theoretically and in classroom practice. In the classroom, writing is facilitated through methods of conferencing and group work, and there is an emphasis on the drafting process as a compositional tool (Graves, 1983). These methods and approaches are closely related to a larger body of work that seeks to prioritise talk in education (e.g. Britton, Burgess, Martin, McLeod, Rosen, 1975, Meek, Warlow, & Barton, 1977, Britton, 1970, Barnes, Britton, & Rosen, 1969, Barnes &

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[6] Maybin (1996) and Fox (1993) make similar observations on this multivocal quality of young children's oral personal narratives.

[7] This effective prioritising of one kind of narrative over other kinds of language-use, both narrative and non-narrative, has been extensively criticised by genre theory, which I will turn to later.

Todd, 1977, Burgess, 1977, and Norman, 1992). Indeed, the term "process writing" has grown into a shibboleth within current educational debate and often refers to an approach that prioritises personal *voice* (e.g. Maybin 1994). I will show how narrative plays a role in this tradition.

In this section I will (1) outline how speaking and writing are related in this approach, (2) show how narrative figures in this relationship, and (3) say what I think are the limits of this pedagogy.

8.4.1 writing as rooted in expressive talk

Britton, Barnes, Rosen, and Burgess argue for an approach to writing pedagogy that values talk. To this end they have composed a taxonomy of text types based on two different kinds of meaning: communication can be performed in the *spectator* or *participant* role (Britton et al, 1975, chapter 9, and Barnes, Britton & Rosen, 1969, part 2). A spectator stands aside from involvements in everyday purposes to reflect and evaluate experience, for example to tell a story for pleasure: "'Spectator' is the label for someone on holiday from the world's affairs, someone contemplating experiences, enjoying them, vividly reconstructing them perhaps - but experiences *in which he is not taking part*" (Britton, 1975, 104). A participant is someone who uses language for a purpose: "a man constructs a representation of the world as he has experienced it *in order to operate in it*" (Britton et al, 1975, 79). For example, telling a story to get information:

> Suppose I have failed to track down X and am still concerned to do so: and that I therefore recount all my frustrated endeavours as a deliberate way of working up to saying ... 'Do you think you can do anything to help me?' ... my concerns are part of the world's concerns and in pursuing them I am participating in the world's affairs. (Britton, 1970, 100)

Types of writing can be positioned by reference to these different roles. (See figure 8.1.) *Transactional* writing - for example when we record, report or persuade - involves taking a participant role:

> This is language to get things done: to inform people (telling them what they need or want to know or what they think they ought to know), to advise or persuade or instruct people. Thus the transactional is used for example to record facts, exchange opinions, explain and record ideas, construct theories (Britton et al, 1975, 88)

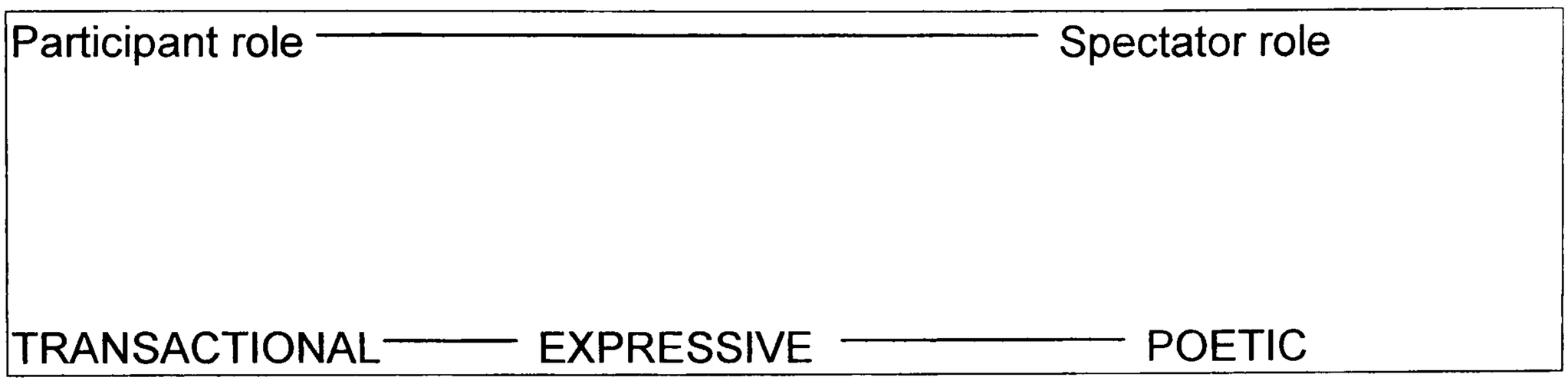
On the other hand *poetic* writing - for example some types of stories and poetry - involves taking a spectator role:

> Poetic writing uses language as an art medium. A piece of poetic writing is a verbal construct, an 'object' made out of language. The words themselves, and all they refer to, are selected to make an arrangement, a formal pattern. (ibid., 90)

Expressive writing is that which is closest to the self and is exploratory: thought and expression are closely related so that the writer develops ideas through the process of writing itself. The poetic and transactional functions cannot be separated out in this kind of writing:

> ordinary face to face speech is directly expressive and carries out its referential function in close and complex interrelationship with that expressive function ... Centrally ... it is utterance at its most relaxed and intimate ... free to move easily from participant into spectator role ... Not only is it the mode in which we approach and relate to each other in speech, but it is also the mode in which, generally speaking, we frame the tentative first drafts of new ideas (ibid., 81-2)

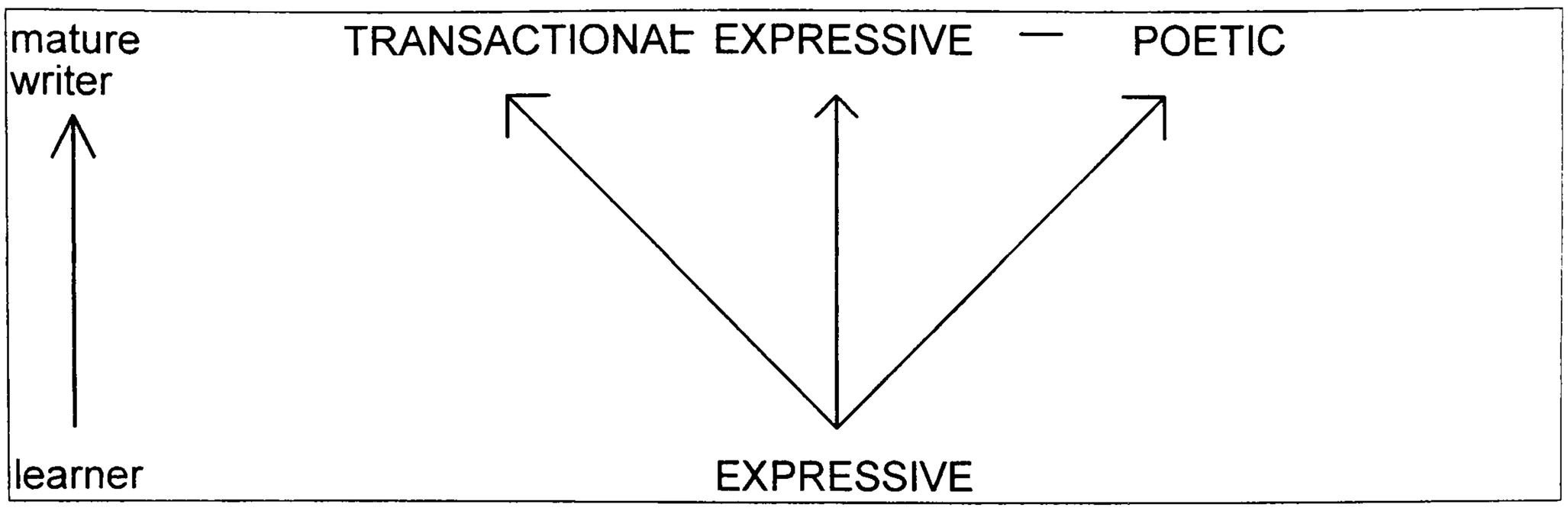
figure 8.1: the three main functions of language



A model (figure 8.2) is constructed in which students develop the above three types, or functions, of writing from the one initial process of expressive writing, which brings speech and writing together. Poetic and transactional writing needs an incubation period in which talk is a central part of writing: "(expressive writing) is language that externalizes our first stages of tackling a problem ... it represents ... the move into writing most likely to preserve a vital link with the spoken mode" (ibid., 197).

Indeed, an ideal development of writing involves starting out with *expressive talk* and then differentiating the roles of spectator and participant. Thus, expressive talk is vital as an *initial* stage in the development of the educationally more significant poetic and transactional kinds of talk, and then writing. Expressive talk is rooted in "common sense" and "implicit meanings" and is always open to the "trivial" (Barnes, Britton & Rosen, 1969, 97 ff.). The educational aim is to intervene in this kind of talk, and to move students in two main directions. Firstly, a teacher can encourage students to move from expressive to transactional talk, so that they get something done: "The change from expressive to transactional speech comes when participant demands are made - that is, when language is called upon to *get something done* in the world" (Britton, 1970, 169). Secondly, poetic language is developed through reading stories and providing opportunities for narrative performance which build on the "easy flow of everyday talk" (Britton, 1970, 150).

figure 8.2: the expressive as a resource for the development of other forms of writing



To summarise, at the centre of the *process writing* approach is the idea that writing can be developed through collaborative talk, a hitherto unexploited resource. Writing has to be rooted in everyday experience, in a child's *oral* expression of meaning. Graves (1983) has developed methods for the teaching of writing based on this view.

Graves' approach is based on the notion of a writing conference in which teacher and student together talk about the student's writing. The first stage involves the teacher encouraging talk about the topic so that there is enough "data" (1983, 103) for the student to work with. Through subsequent redraftings and conferences the text is structured through teacher questions that focus on how the writing is done, on the *process*. These questions, still quite unprescriptive, help students to be aware of how they are writing, how to structure the "information". The charge that this is a *laissez faire* method, with students, merely being encouraged to write with a personal *voice*, is unjustified. However, although there is concern for genre and structure, this concern is crucially derived, it is claimed, from the latest student text - and what the student is saying about it - rather than from an *a priori* decision on what the writing should look like. The pedagogic role for the teacher involves listening to a voice and then encouraging this to be articulated through the writing process: "process questions help children to become more conscious of how they function as writers. They also help children to learn to speak about writing ... not in the abstract but through their own experience in writing" (ibid., 110).

Narrative plays an important role in this approach to student writing, and has been placed centre-stage by some educationalists (e.g. Meek et al, 1977, Meek, 1991, Fox, 1993). I will now turn to look at what this role is.

8.4.2 narrative-as-route-to-writing

The distinction between participant and spectator roles is extended through a discussion of how personal and literary narratives are part of an "essential mode" of

language and thought which involves a focus on our "world representation" in a narrator-spectator role rather than on an "ongoing experience" as a participant in an activity (Britton, 1970, 152). Britton says:

> when we chat with our friends in a relaxed way, our talk is likely to be mainly expressive: we verbalise what runs through our minds ... we can speak as though we spoke to ourselves or even meditated silently and did not speak (ibid., 169)

This kind of talk can then be developed into a story by the speaker turning to poetic form:

> we may gossip idly about .... holidays ... (then) suppose I grow interested in the account of your holiday experiences *as a* story ... you ... may begin to give your story a more satisfying shape: your talk has become more and more of a performance, more of a construction, more of a verbal object. (ibid., 170)

Britton's claim is that through this movement away from expressive talk, we take part in a different order of meaning: we are involved in an enjoyment of the representation itself, an enjoyment that is apart from the day-to-day practical concerns of participating in the world (the transactional) and apart from more intimate "chatter" (ibid., chapter 3).

Narrative is not primarily expressive and exploratory in this account, as some would claim (e.g. McEwan & Egan, 1995, xi); rather, narrative is a direction in which expressive talk may lead, an entry into a fictional world in the *spectator* role (Meek, Warlow & Barton, 1977). Literary and personal narratives offer students a fictional or mythical expansion to their everyday worlds. Burgess, for example, aims to show how a development of voice can transport the narrative writer and reader into a "web of narrative" in which the expressive voice of the narrator is "transmuted" into a narrative "construct", into a fictional world that expands the restricted horizons of the students' otherwise mundane lives (Burgess, 1977, 374):

> Most of us. perhaps, tell stories of some kind daily ... but from time to time something peculiarly interesting or extravagant has happened ... Then we require an expanded setting ... at such times utterance comes close to *performance* ... we have to hold the stage and tell the story well. This dimension, which holds in speech, holds also in writing. (ibid. 363)

Writing emerges from expressive talk through narrative performance, which displays the poetic function of meaning. Britton quotes Moffet: "the first step towards writing is made when a speaker takes over a conversation and sustains some subject alone" (Britton, 1970, 166). A narrative performance, the argument goes, is monologic language on the way to writing. Meek writes: "Stories are the essential link between learning to talk and learning to read, because they are a special kind of play with language that separates it from speech." (Meek, 1982, 37)

To sum up, narrative:

(1) involves an attention to form, a performance, that brings about an expansion of the narrator's "imaginative worlds";

(2) is a key resource that the teacher can use in the classroom to develop students' writing;

(3) supplies a form of meaning that is not fully developed in children's peer-group "idle chatter".

I made the important point above that for process writing, narrative needs to be distinguished from expressive talk, although they are related. Expressive talk acts as a starting point for the development of both poetic and transactional writing. The questions now are: What exactly does this "starting point" look like? Does it have a character of its own, apart from being a combination of the poetic and the transactional? Another way of putting these questions is to ask: How does expressive talk provide the resources for story-telling performance?

8.4.3 the limits of narrative-as-route-to-writing

In the next few paragraphs I will focus on the way Britton characterises classroom talk between students, suggesting that important parts of the expressive talk analysed by Britton are neglected. My concern will also be with how the above concepts of narrative and writing function in his analysis.[8]

As part of an argument for the importance of talk in classroom learning, Britton cites at length a small group discussion on the theme of families (without a teacher present) (Britton, 1969). I will try to provide the bare bones of his analysis.[9] The students' discussion starts with talk about their rooms, being told off, and parents. There is a mixture of complaints and "adult views", and Britton glosses the talk as the group "gently probing to see how far it can go towards reconciling a daughter's viewpoint with that of a parent" (ibid., 89). Talk continues in a "leisurely" way with the students talking about other parent-child disputes. Britton says that discussion, is "circular" at this point, meaning, I suppose, that one incident exemplifying a parent-child difference "merely" gets added to another. However, it does "move on" a little. A student says:

> they (parents) really want the best for you, you know ... you're pleased at that .... but the trouble is they feel as though they've done all they could. (ibid., 89)

Britton characterises this comment as about the "question of guilt and its infectiousness" (ibid., 92), and notes that it does not get "taken up" until later. More "circular talk"

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[8] What follows should not be taken as applying to the work of others associated with Britton. For example, Barnes and Todd (1977) take a different approach to the analysis of talk classroom groups.

[9] It is not possible to supply the transcript itself because of its length.

follows, with problems of "growing old" and "views on boys" getting mentioned. The talk so far is merely expressive: "it is relaxed, self-presenting, self-revealing, addressed to a few intimate companions" (ibid., 96.). Although talk moves between general comment and narration, speakers do not aim at "explicit reference (as one might in an argument or sociological report)".[10] Neither is there a "polished performance". However, the talk is serving some educative purpose: laid out are "various bits of the family jigsaw" (brothers, mothers etc.) and "themes" (love, guilt etc.). Britton claims that these themes get developed by a final stretch of talk: a student introduces the topic of father-mother arguments, and the problem of children being forced to take sides. This is taken up by others in an "I remember" series that features a story about a parent row that results in a cathartic family outburst. Britton then singles out the same student's later comment:

> I think you get most rows because they're over you .... and you think you're the object of the row and you think, Ooh!. (ibid., 95)

This stretch of talk, it is claimed, forces the discussion back to make a final point about guilt:

> Doubtless she could not say so, yet she seems to know - with us - that of all the emotions that bind a family together, feeling guilty about each other is the most treacherous. (ibid., 97)

Britton has singled out one student's perspective on the conversation, from one particular point in it, a point at which there is a narrative performance. He then aligns this to a wider point about the relative importance of emotions. In doing this many other elements of the discussion get passed over. For example, one fairly strong theme is the strength of families in the face of discord (perhaps related to the rather conformist and compliant nature of the talk that Britton may be remarking upon when he wonders to what extent the students are playing to the microphone): parents often want the best for their children even though mistakes are made, they are always there for you, daughters eventually become mothers etc. The cathartic story is as much an expression of these themes as of "guilt is the basis of all other emotions".

I am not saying that Britton's analysis is wrong: it may well be an extremely useful way of looking at how a teacher can intervene in classroom talk. But the above analysis interprets the data prematurely. A huge amount of talk gets marginalised, treated as forming part of the "leisurely" and "circular" build up, to a final move in which a student "seems to know with us" that guilt is the key emotion here.

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[10] Britton elaborates on this in other analyses. His point is that much group-work talk remains at the level of an exchange of generalisations and particular exemplifications of these. There is a need for "intermediate generalisations" to take the discussion beyond "common sense", or "what we normally get by with" (1969, 107). Although this part of the analysis is interesting, and related to Britton's comments about poetic talk and meaning, I will not focus on it here.

There is a problematic relationship, a tension, between children's everyday peer group talk, treated as a starting point, and the poetic meaning or transactional meaning that they are journeying towards from this kind of talk. Despite the emphasis that is placed on everyday talk, and the arguments for developing literacy from this, its description poses a problem. Britton provides an account of talk which characterises it in terms of what it may turn into, rather than as part of a set of meanings worked out by conversational participants at that moment in the talk: talk about parents is on the way to a generalisation about mother-daughter relationships, and "chat" is an "idle" prelude to a story performance (Britton, 1970, 170).

Although there is this avoidance of what children's talk is doing, talk still figures as important for literacy development. But what is of central interest to Britton is the event in which a teacher, through using a narrative literary text or an oral narrative performance, extends the horizon of the learners. Narrative at times operates as a performative blueprint to convert chatter into literacy. And in this lies the problematic tension: between the valuing of children's talk as a resource, and the characterisation of it as lacking in poetic and transactional meanings.

The point I am making about Britton's equivocal treatment of students' peer group talk is related to wider criticisms of process writing by those who align themselves with genre theory and *critical literacy*. It is claimed that there is an invisible pedagogy behind process writing (and, more generally, progressive approaches) that works against those they are designed to help: the notion of voice favours a kind of middle class sensibility rather than giving a real voice to those who have previously lacked one (Kalantzis & Cope, 1993). Graves' approach to writing, Britton's expectations about what talk can offer, and the widespread belief in latent narrative performance traditions favours students who speak like these educationalists, who have similar conversational resources. Indeed, Britton assumes that expressive speech is not learned by children of "linguistically restricted homes" (1969, 98) and that those who are "more linguistically advanced" can make general statements (ibid., 106).

Graves describes how information, elicited through sensitive listening to personal voice, gets shaped and structured into a story through process questions such as "what will happen next?" or "what made you write that?" (Graves, 1983, 155). These questions are presented as serving solely to respond to the students' meanings and *facilitate* the development of their writing; there is no explicit account of how the teacher's values and meanings are to be negotiated with the student's. But the teacher is interacting with text and child during process writing, and to pretend that this is *just* facilitating is to gloss over interactions that may favour those children able to tune in to the questioning style of the teacher. Pam Gilbert's study of process-writing classrooms shows that students can view what is happening very differently (1989): the apparently open ended activity of redrafting is taken by students to be a demand for rather specific

types of "creative" writing, and some students respond to this expectation (and control the genre) more successfully than others. [11]

Process writing seeks to integrate speech and writing, and narrative plays a key role in this attempt. I have been trying to show that there are limits to process writing's account of this integration. Although "expressive talk and writing" seems to be a broad term, literacy is effectively regarded as beginning in students' everyday talk in a very particular way. This is because process-writing has from the beginning made assumptions about which parts of this talk are to form the start of the road to literacy: i.e. expressive talk which is "on the way" to narrative performance. Students' own sense-making practices are marginalised, and narratives are viewed as performance blueprints.

Genre theorists say that there has been undue weight attached to the genre of narrative, particularly in primary education. Narrative is still important, but as one important genre amongst others.

8.5 narrative and genre theory

The purpose of this section is to identify which classroom events are made relevant by genre theory's notion of narrative, rather than summarising their critique of process writing. However, to understand what narrative amounts to in this approach, I need to locate narrative as a genre within what is said about speech and writing. Therefore I will follow a similar course to that taken in the above section on process writing. I will (1) outline an account of the speech-writing distinction, drawing on the work of Halliday, (2) locate the notion of genre within this account, in particular the place of narrative, and then (3) problematise a particular analysis of a type of narrative.

8.5.1 speaking and writing

For Halliday, spoken language is essentially a language of change, or process, whilst written language is a language of things:

> spoken language is language in flux: language realised as movement and continuous flow ... written language is language in fix: language realised as an object that is stable and bounded (1996, 352).

At the linguistic level of the clause, spoken language, centered around a process, gets transformed by writing into a nominal group. This enables processes to be treated as if they were objects (*grammatical metaphor*). To put it another way, writing abstracts

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[11] See also Chouliaraki's (1998) analysis of teacher-student interactions during process writing activities: much of the talk is about procedural matters - e.g. layout of text, timing of work, organisation of material resources - rather than students' ideas.

linguistic objects from our everyday experience of "happenings". Although education involves a movement from spoken to written language and meanings, Halliday is not claiming that education develops meanings that reside solely in the written form. Rather, there is a dialectic between spoken and written language modes (ibid., 353 & 367).

A genre-based approach to literacy is founded on Halliday's characterisation of the spoken-written language distinction (Martin, Christie & Rothery, 1987, Cope & Kalantzis, 1993). Process writing, it is argued, does not recognize this crucial distinction between speech and writing, and it thus fails to teach distinctive aspects of written language. Therefore, what is needed is a pedagogy that enters into a dialectic between the "traditional" and the "progressive"; we need a balance between (1) making learners aware of linguistic forms that give access to academic, written-language meanings; and (2) the relating of learning to "direct experience" and spoken language. In a claim that could easily be found in the work of Mohan and Cummins, we are told: "lessons need to move from the concrete to the abstract and back to the concrete" (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993, 80). A pedagogic model is proposed that suggests how writing is to be staged: (1) a teacher introduces model texts to be analysed through an explicit analysis of the structure of the text; (2) these texts are used as a basis for "joint construction", with the teacher drawing attention to the way the text is formed; and then (3) students can go on to work more independently (Martin, Christie & Rothery, 1987, Cope & Kalantzis, 1993). Genre is a key concept in this pedagogy: they are what students are to learn to understand, analyse, and produce. But what is meant by "genre"?

8.5.2 genre and narrative

Genre has been defined as a "staged, goal oriented social process" (Martin et al, 1987, 59). I will unpack this a little. Although genres change over time, they are also "fixed", for example, a story has a different textual shape to an essay, it is "staged" differently. A story begins with an *orientation*, whereas an essay begins with an *introduction*. Genres have a "function". A story does something different to an exposition, it has "a different job" (ibid., 60): a historical narrative records the past whilst an exposition interprets it. These jobs are part of a culture: "genres represent the most efficient ways cultures have of going about their business" (ibid., 62). For example, Rothery remarks that the narrative genre (in which a problem is solved or overcome) embodies an ideology - central to "Western capitalist cultures" - which represents the individual as "in control of events" (Rothery, 1996, 97).

Genre theorists have strong views on the way different genres have been neglected or unduly prioritised in education. These views grow out of their arguments for the distinctiveness of writing as both language and ideology (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993, Martin, 1985): different genres are associated with speech and writing, and so learning to write is partly a matter of learning particular genres (Martin, 1985, 53). In

particular, "factual genres" (e.g. report, exposition) are more typical of writing: they are used to "explore the world around us" (ibid., 9), and are more abstract (Martin et al, 1987, 67). The main function of many stories, on the other hand, is to entertain - stories are to be found in both speech and writing (Martin, 1985, 9). Genre theorists argue, then, that (1) a range of non-narrative genres have been neglected by literacy educationalists, and (2) stories have been given an over-inflated role at the expense of other genres. Stories need to recognised as genres that have particular functions, and their pedagogic role needs to be restricted to these functions.[12]

However, stories can be more than a "form of entertainment": Martin and Rothery have analysed primary school texts to explore development towards a more literary type of story (Martin & Rothery, 1980 & 1981). Indeed, there are different story genres. The distinctive features of written language are "inscribed" into some forms of story more than others, and students who are able to produce literary stories are assessed more favourably:

> There are ... important genre distinctions between the range of texts produced within the personalised texts that the progressivists privilege in subject English. Recount is a genre which retells events for the purpose of informing or entertaining. Narrative is generally a genre intended to deal with problematic actual and vicarious experience, leading to a crisis or turning point and its resolution ... the more 'advanced' and successful these genres seem to be, in the commonsense appraisal of teacher evaluations of 'good writing' or 'understanding of the topic', the further their writer have moved away from the characteristic linguistic features of speech. (Cope & Kalantzis, 1993, 67)

Martin and Rothery have more recently analysed secondary school narrative texts (Martin, 1996 & Rothery, 1996), in particular *thematic narrative*, a genre that is typical of this "advanced form" of written language. I'll outline Martin's analysis before pointing out some limits to this approach to narrative and classroom events. In order to give some idea of how the analysis is done, I'll first need to provide a brief synopsis of the story:

> A scientist is at home working in his study with his "mentally arrested" son playing in the house. A visitor calls, providing a welcome interruption, but the scientist quickly realises that the visitor is there to argue with him about his fears for the scientist's work of developing an "ultimate weapon". Before the conversation can develop, the son enters the room and has a friendly exchange with the visitor. The son is then sent away, the scientist moves to wrap up the conversation by saying that his interest is in science alone, and that he is aware of all the arguments. The visitor delays his departure by taking up an earlier offer of a drink, and whilst this is being prepared he visits the boy's room. After he leaves, the scientist discovers that his son has been given a gun, and the story ends with his thought: "only a madman would give a loaded revolver to an idiot".

Martin's analysis has three parts. Firstly, starting with *ideational* meaning, he looks at the way activities in the story are "disrupted": for example, the scientist's

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[12] Kress, although viewing narrative differently to Martin et al, seems to share the view that its educational use needs to be limited. He sees narrative as an inherently conservative mode of discourse, and differentiates it from other modes that "address difference rather than dissolve it" (1989).

expectations of a welcome interlude are disappointed, and his relief at the visitor's departure ends when he discovers the gun. Turning to an analysis of *evaluation*. or *interpersonal* meaning, affective language is analysed to show an alternation between positive and negative affect, which can be mapped on to the disruptive and resumptive activities. For example, following the positive expressions of "care" that feature in the exchanges between the visitor and the son, there is an "annoying intrusion" of political activity.

Secondly, "stepping back one level of abstraction", these activities and evaluations can be mapped on to a Labovian schema: (1) the story starts with an *orientation* of the scientist reflecting in his study; (2) there is a *complication* when this reflection is interrupted by the visitor, who introduces further complications of political activity, followed by domestic activity; (3) there is a final, affectively charged *evaluation* throughout the final political conversation; (4) *resolution* occurs when the visitor has a drink; and (5) the *coda* consists of the final punchline.

The third part of the analysis consists in "projecting theme". Martin points out that certain disruptions in activities are more unusual than others: the scientist's work on an ultimate weapon, his mentally arrested son, and the visitor's fears for humanity. Turning to affective language, Martin wants us to see that this expresses the scientist's point of view until the coda. Disruption and evaluation are "reconciled" through a staging of the genre: the shift in point of view allows the reader to re-read the entire story from the visitor's point of view, expressed by "only a madman would give a loaded revolver to an idiot". Now different activities can be seen as disruptions.

Martin pushes this stage of the analysis one further step so that an underlying theme is revealed from the story's "key ingredients": the scientist's work, the visitor's objection (is humanity ready for such a weapon?), the visitor's gift of a loaded revolver, and the coda. These elements have to be read not just as a linear unfolding of activities. They are bound together in causal relationships, and certain elements "stand for one another": the gift of the gun is given *because of* the scientist's work, and this gift is not only a kind of madness in its own right, but *symbolises* the visitor's earlier question, "is humanity ready for such a weapon?" Everything in the narrative is tied together by reading the story as a projection of the underlying theme: that humanity is not ready for an ultimate weapon. For genre-based approaches to literacy, this projection of theme is that which qualifies thematic narrative as a more advanced, written genre. For Martin and Rothery, producing thematic narrative, that which is valued by school, involves us tuning in to those abstract meanings most typical of written language.

8.5.3 some limits of narrative-as-genre

What are we drawn to consider important in the classroom if we apply some of the pedagogic models from genre theory to teaching narrative? For process writing we

saw that it was a certain kind of talk between teacher and student that encouraged an artful performance, and for Egan it was the application of a fictional narrative model to classroom practice. My question in this section is: What are the relevant events in genre theory's account of a narrative and pedagogy?

For Martin and Rothery, pedagogical events are defined in relation to the more or less effective production of genres, where these genres are defined apart from an analysis of the processes of their production. That is, what is happening in the classroom event is viewed in terms of how the text is shaped and put together as a linguistic form in its own right. This form is viewed, of course, as socially and ideologically determined, but the ideology can be inferred from the analysis of text alone. And so Martin and Rothery advocate the development of a linguistic repertoire by teachers and students that involves an understanding of how texts are to be constructed. Pedagogy involves working out how these text-types can be introduced, understood, and used by students (see section 8.5.1).

The problem with this view of genre in education is not that it is text-based. We cannot criticise the above narrative analysis for failing to consider the ways actual readers understand this text and use it. Martin and Rothery have not set out to directly address this question; they are not doing an anthropology of reading. Rather, there is a problem with the way Martin and Rothery seek to provide a complete description of the text through their generic description alone. Another way of putting this is to say that for Martin and Rothery it is texts themselves that have purposes; tasks are performed by the texts rather than by people using texts. One of their aims, then, is to be able to articulate these purposes, and to show how various layers of grammatical description realise the overall purpose of the genre.

And so what exactly is the problem with this approach? Although I said above that Martin and Rothery are not doing an anthropology of reading, their approach does, of course, have implications for how to use texts. I have already outlined their approach to teaching genres. This involves a view of classrooms as places where certain text types are, or are not, effectively passed on to students. Pedagogy then becomes a case of working out how genres - texts that have discrete purposes in their own right - can be produced by students. This is not all that can happen, but it is argued that critique must be preceded by the acquisition of these essential genres. My point is that this is an extremely limited picture of the classroom practice of producing and acquiring a genre.[13]

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[13] There is another deeper, and more theoretical, argument to be made against Martin's and Rothery's view of text and genre. Kress distinguishes his own approach, focused on the "structural features of a specific social occasion", and taking into account genre as just one kind of textual feature, from Martin and Rothery's views which reify text-types (Kress, 1993). Hasan suggests that the role of context is undermined by Martin's theoretical framework (1995).

What I have said so far about genre-based literacy is more a claim than an argument. If genres are as Martin and Rothery claim, then perhaps they do need to be just "delivered". As a way of showing more clearly what I think the problems are, I will draw attention to some gaps in Martin's narrative analysis outlined above.

Martin claims that the point of the story is that society is not ready for an ultimate weapon:

> The critical step involves reworking Graham's *(the scientist's)* own evaluation of Niemand's *(the visitor's)* action as an abstract interpretation of both Niemand's actions and (perhaps more to the point) Graham's own. (1996, 163).

But there are many other underlying themes. This is also a story about rationality and its limits: the scientist problematically rationalises his relationship with his son; he calls a stop to argument by making a distinction between truth and science, whilst at the same time recognizing that this is a difficult distinction to make; and, of course, a madman (both the visitor and the scientist) is said to give a revolver to an idiot. From these story elements, we could, I suppose, just as easily construct a rather different (but obviously related) genre to Martin's. In this schema the final line ("only a madman ...") is still important, but does not provide the key-stone for the analysis. Indeed, if we read the story as about the limits (and paradoxes?) of rationality and science, we might be inclined to be less certain than Martin as to whose point of view exactly is being offered in the final line. The reader is suddenly seeing the events in a different way, but this does not necessarily mean that the scientist's point of view is thereby erased. To use a Bakhtinian concept, the coda could just as easily be seen as *double-voiced*: there are two perspectives in dialogue with one another, without one necessarily dominating the other.

The story is, of course, also about what Martin claims it is about. But his quest to find any *one* point of the story is problematic. We can see this happening when Martin selects the "key ingredients" that "prestigious readings" involve (ibid., 154). What makes him do this, and what criteria does he use when he selects his "key ingredients"? At first it is difficult to see: Martin appears to have focused on the last line of the story as a point from which to interpret, or reinterpret, the entire story. But why choose this line over many others? There are lots of other telling moments in the story that a prestigious reading could identify.

The selection could be influenced by Martin's views on the nature of speech and writing. Instead of developing his textual analysis of field/disruption and tenor/evaluation, and their "dialectic", Martin appears to search for one abstract concept that can be symbolised by what would be, it is claimed, an otherwise unthematised series of events. And in order to show that this is a thematised narrative, we need to see it as essentially written, as symbolising an abstract concept.

In sum, genre theory - partly driven by a critique of the "domination" of narrative - argues that stories are just one set of genres which have to be taught. Genres are regarded as pre-formed texts, whose nature is independent of the moments of

classroom production when they are acquired by students. That is, stories are to be passed on to students in classrooms, who can then adapt them to suit their purposes. Relevant classroom events are moments when this transmission of genres is more or less effective. This is, of course, a limited view of classroom practices.

For genre theory the categorising of stories depends on a distinction between speech and writing. Some stories, e.g. thematic narratives, are more "writing-like" than others, and are therefore more educationally valuable. The speech-writing distinction may be relevant to an analysis of narrative texts, and to their use in education, but the speech-writing distinction that is drawn upon by genre theory is limited. There is no mention of particular practices in this approach, and no sense of how participants create distinctions between speech and writing that are meaningful for the participants themselves.

8.6 guidelines for a revised notion of narrative

Although each of the above three uses of narrative have certain merits, I have drawn attention to various limitations with (1) the concepts of narrative, and (2) the associated pictures of classroom contexts. To summarise, narrative is not just:

(i) a vehicle for abstract concepts (section 8.3);

(ii) a self-reflexive performance (section 8.4);

(iii) a particular textual shape or structure which has its own distinctive purpose (section 8.5).

I have tried to make these points about narrative alongside points about the limits of the various discussions of classroom contexts. To summarise these points, the use of a concept of narrative should draw attention to more than:

(i) the appeal of literary stories to children (section 8.3);

(ii) peer group talk that is on the way to full performance (section 8.4);

(iii) the presentation of texts to students, and their application (section 8.5).

I began this chapter by suggesting that narrative might serve as a useful speculative instrument, drawing attention to aspects of classroom contexts neglected by existing EAL pedagogic frameworks: (1) the ways that distinctions between everyday and academic discourse are created in the classroom by participants; (2) the ways that these discourses can be in conflict; and (3) the participants' sense making practices.

However, approach (i) above is concerned with the appeal and application of a certain kind of narrative in a highly specific classroom context - that of a teacher presenting the curriculum through quasi-story performances. Peer group story-telling practices and students' own perspectives on Egan's narrative schemas are not treated as relevant. In the case of approaches (ii) and (iii), we do not attend to that aspect of classroom events neglected by Cummins' framework: the meaning of the relationship between academic and non-academic discourse (or writing and speech) for the

participants. Rather, the focus is on the performance that students are heading towards, or the text that they are to reproduce. All of the approaches to narrative reviewed so far do not seem to supplement existing EAL frameworks.

Indeed, these narrative concepts and pedagogic models can fit quite well with Cummins' framework - they can extend it rather than supplement it. The concepts of narratives in this chapter have until now depended on: shared adult-child sensibilities (section 8.3), collaborative artful performance (section 8.4), and a shared understanding of the functions and worth of texts (section 8.5). Narrative so far has been an analytic concept that assumes the commensurability of classroom discourses - talk is unproblematically collaborative and academic goals are shared. There is little sense of the heterogeneity of classroom discourse discussed in chapter 6 (especially section 6.5).

Another, non-educational, approach to narrative which might be more responsive to participants' perspectives is ethnography. In the next section I will turn to a very different use of narrative as a way of understanding classroom events, and in particular the relationship between academic and everyday discourse.

8.7 narrative and ethnography

This section has three parts: I will look at work that (1) situates narrative within cultural practices both inside and outside the classroom, and which (2) draws on the identification and description of these cultural practices as a way of understanding specific instances of miscommunication within the classroom. I will then (3) give an account of both the limitations of this work, and the way ethnography of narrative can offer an extra dimension to the study of classroom events.

8.7.1 narratives within cultural practices

The educational ethnographies of Heath and Scollon & Scollon have a lot to say about narrative practices. I will need to briefly identify their main theoretical concerns before looking at how the concept of narrative is working. I will start firstly with Heath's notion of a literacy event.

Heath aims to undermine the dichotomy of the literate versus the oral tradition (1982, 74): it is wrong, she says, to view children as encountering (or not) one form of literacy in or out of school. Rather, there are multiple community literacy practices, only some of which are recognised by the school. As a way of conceptualising, identifying and valuing this variety of practices, Heath coins the term *literacy event*. A literacy event is an "occasion in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies" (1982, 74). There are two important aspects of a literacy event. Firstly, Heath draws attention to the particular ways that participants interact with text: we need to look more closely at what is done

with text, and to do this we have to look at people taking part in activities together, e.g. reading and talking about a bedtime-story. Secondly, the ways participants "take from" and use a text are bound up with broader patterns of socialisation: individuals bring with them different cultural practices to their encounter with a text.

Heath (1982 & 1983) links different types of narrative with the ways that different communities create literacy events with pre-school children. Three adjacent North American communities, whose children attend the same schools, are identified: "Maintown" (white, middle class), "Roadville" (white, working class), and "Tracktown" (black, working class). In Maintown there is a general interactional style that connects "book talk" with "real world talk": children's real world experiences are often related to fictional stories so that "departures from the 'truth'" are legitimated (1982, 76). Also, children in early infancy become familiar with certain ways of talking about bed-time stories: the bedtime story is broken down into "small bits of information" to be used in question-answer sequences initiated by the adult (1982, 78). In Roadville, books, often concerned with more "real-life" stories, are remembered, learned from, and used to entertain. There is not the same kind of "participatory questioning" that goes on in Maintown. Oral stories have to be told "right": there is less tolerance of oral fictional stories, with a clear distinction made between reality and fiction in everyday adult-child talk. In Tracktown, there is little use of reading materials which are designed for pre-school children, and there are no literacy events involving children being questioned about what they take from print. Adults do not parcel out reality for the young in the ways that Roadville and Maintown adults do. Rather, experiences are presented to children, from which they are then to learn without direct adult intervention. Children tell stories that provide space for audience evaluation through devices that encourage audience participation: "true stories" are fictionalised through this way of inviting the audience to make parallels with their own experience. This story-telling practice is part of a more widespread socialisation practice. Children are encouraged to develop analogical connections between events that depend on particular descriptions, understood by conversational participants through their local knowledge, rather than generic ones: "What's it like?" is a more common question than "What is it?". From all of this we have a picture of three ways of narrating and practicing literacy. These ways are related to ways of talking, being in the world, and adult-child relationships.

Heath seeks to show that the transition from home to school is for children a move to different ways of talking, and therefore narrating, that are more or less compatible with their previous experiences. Heath's three different narrative practices have implications for school performance: Roadville children can cope with initial literacy demands but are unable to do well with the more open-ended book talk required by teachers as they move through the grades; Tracktown children are unable to treat narratives as whole, "to-be-listened-to" texts, "inappropriately" interacting with them

through evaluative and questioning talk; Maintown children have a background that is more compatible with school practices.

Scollon and Scollon prioritise a different, although obviously related, concern: the discrimination against Athabaskans by North Americans in an Alaskan community (1981). They argue that discrimination is manifested through communication problems. North Americans fail to understand what Athabaskans are saying, and why, within *interethnic encounters*. Athabaskans and North Americans display a different consciousness - "Bush" versus "Modern" - and use different discourses.

Narrative provides a focus for this exploration of cultural difference. For example, Scollon & Scollon seek to show that Athabaskans narrate in ways that are considered cryptic, opaque, and even anti-social by white visitors to the region. This difference in narratives, partly describable as a different way of handling explanations within narratives (to be added by listeners rather than by the narrator) is part of a way of participating within a set of cultural practices in which there is great respect for the freedom of a conversational partner. Writing a "white" narrative thereby becomes not only a technical task for young Athabaskans but also involves adopting a different cultural identity and morality.

In the above ethnographies narrative acts as a way of making cross-cultural comparisons. Speech and literacy events within a community are drawn together to form a narrative practice which can then be compared with narrative practices from other communities. Scollon & Scollon account for their focus on narrative in their ethnography by appealing to the centrality of narrative in language and everyday conversation (1981, 6). Narrative is an omnipresent cultural practice. Similarly, narrative in Heath's work is not an analytic pointer to meanings external to her ethnographic descriptions; in looking at home and school literacy practices, narrative meanings emerge as part of a description of particular talk and behaviour. This ethnographic description is both rooted in participant observation of specific events - e.g. a parent reading a bed-time story, a child describing a car, or the way adults label objects rather than talk about other contexts in which they are used - and a more encompassing notion of how these particular descriptions form part of a way of talking. Heath is weaving descriptions of particular events, some of them narrative events and some not, into an account of how different cultural groups position themselves in the world. Narrative serves to give coherence to Heath's ethnography, and - as with Scollon & Scollon's work - enables comparisons to be made between events and practices drawn from different communities.[14]

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[14] Collins suggests that narrative analysis is useful in educational research because story-telling is both universal and relative to cultural differences (1985, 57). Heath and Scollon & Scollon would probably agree with this.

8.7.2 classroom literacy events

The above ethnographies are, of course, very much concerned with educational issues. For example, Heath argues for a kind of pedagogy in which ethnography provides an agenda for culturally-sensitive teaching. In particular, children`s own narrative practices and ways of taking part in questioning talk can be exploited in the classroom for their literacy development (1983, 296). Heath characterises the alternative as a classroom in which teachers and children misunderstand one another and where children whose discourses are not in tune with the teachers' get excluded. However, the focus is still more on identifying cultural patterns than on a close look at how mainstream expectations and community cultural practices affect one another in particular classroom events.

There is work that does this: Michaels and Collins have tried to relate children's narratives discourse styles to classroom narrative expectations within the academic context of sharing time (Collins, 1986 & Michaels, 1986). They seek to show how a particular boy's narrative, an example of a *topic-centered* narrative associated with white middle class speakers, is highly coordinated with the teacher's talk: there is explicit evaluation by the boy which can be extended by the teacher, a Labovian story schema with a single topic, and intonation patterns which cues the teacher's own evaluation. In contrast a particular girl's narrative, an example of the *topic associating* narratives of black working class speakers, does not display these features: topic shifts take place through prosodic signalling and evaluation is implicit, suggested by parallelism rather than lexicalisation. This kind of narrative is met with an uncoordinated response and disapproval from the teacher.

Au is concerned with groups of students talking about a read-aloud story. She reports on lessons in which the teacher seeks to accommodate to the student's peer group "talk-story" practices, a style of talk in which "narration and joking take the form of a contrapuntal conversation" (1979, 97). Students are allowed by the teacher to give various kinds of joint performances, and there are less *IRE* sequences than usual for this kind of event. However, talk-story does not straightforwardly occur in an unmediated form: rather, the lessons are hybrids, being neither conventional nor based purely on talk-story. Indeed, Au remarks that the teacher is highly involved in orchestrating turns and carrying out "good practice".

I want to draw attention to the way that narrative figures in the above studies in understanding how particular classroom events work. Not only are links made with cultural practices outside the classroom, but we start to get a sense of how these practices are working within the classroom. In the case of the sharing-time session, a focus on narrative, alongside a focus on the academic need to "stick to the point" - to be "topical" - allows us to start to not only see how certain students are included and others excluded, but how the academic event works by drawing together different practices: (1)

the narratives "brought to" the sharing time, and (2) the expectations of the teacher to be topical. Similarly, Au's reading aloud sessions bring together, apparently in a more positive way: (1) the academic practice of answering the teacher's questions and displaying knowledge, and (2) the performing of a version of talk-story. The studies of Michaels, Collins and Au combine an ethnographic sensibility with an interest in how narrative and non-narrative practices get used *together* in specific classroom events.

To summarise, for ethnography:

(1) Narrative facilitates a coherent description of a set of cultural practices, e.g. questioning, relating to signs and books, play. A set of associated concepts - fictional/real, analogic/abstract, contextualised/decontextualised - also can be used to compare different ways of talking and taking from print.

(2) Important educational events become those in which a teacher situates learners in respect to alternative or mainstream culture. Culturally sensitive teaching aims to draw on home and community cultures in developing a child's own literacy practices.

8.7.3 limitations of ethnographic treatments of narratives

Giving an account of culturally specific ways of narrating and taking part in literacy practices involves relating ethnographic observations and linguistic descriptions to claims about how different cultural groups think, use language, and interact. Although these claims serve in certain respects as explanatory frameworks and rules for cultural behaviour, Heath and others do not want to provide us with a picture of cultural essences. In order to realise what they are doing, it is important to place their work in context. Heath is responding to a particular educational climate in which certain groups of students are marginalised. It is therefore necessary to view her talk of culturally-relative ways of talking and thinking as a corrective to a certain kind of culture-blind educational practice.[15] The strategic generalisations about cultural differences need to be located within a particular set of research problems, related to views on, e.g., cultural deficit, the radical difference between literate and oral culture, and the demise of oral story-telling traditions.

This background may account for why there is at times a lack of nuance and complexity in the descriptions of discourse practices of particular cultural groups. The general claims made about narrative discourses appear to assume an unproblematic

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[15] It is at times hard to see this rhetorical purpose in her work, and it then becomes prone to simplification by others. Gee, for example, draws on ethnography and discourse analysis to make claims about racial and class differences in ways of talking about fictional texts in class (1996): white middle class children talk about texts in class differently to black working class children. The former inhabit a "narrated world" as they talk about story characters' motives, whilst the latter tend to refer story events to their own "social worlds". These educational differences, it is claimed, are to do with fundamentally different ways these children have of relating to the world around them (1996, 166). There is a danger of cultural reification in work of this kind that attempts to synthesize findings and analyses from different research sites and from different research problems. It is hard to know at times who Gee is talking about.

identification of cultural groupings and spaces. There is a difficulty here in the way generalisations can at times get compressed into correlations between variations in discourse genres (e.g. narrative) and unelaborated notions of cultural types. The problem is not that generalisations are made. The point of making these generalisations is to engage with various views on academic performance that are not sensitive to differences in cultural practices, e.g. a deficit view of "illiterate" community practices. Rather, problems arise when generalisations are not contextualised carefully within this debate. Also, we need to realise that identifications of narrative styles are relevant to just some kinds of events.[16]

There are different ways of proceeding from this realisation. In order to explore the way cultural identities are not just possessed but used and constructed within interaction, we may want to turn to events in which cultural identities are playfully negotiated or challenged in moments of conflict. For example, Hewitt's work captures the way ethnic identities are made within interaction as well as brought to it: "there is nothing generated within black culture that cannot become inflected for strategic use in specific local interactions" (Hewitt, 1986, 214).

Another way to increase the sensitivity of the ethnography is to see cultural differences in narrative practices intersecting with relationships of power. For Hymes (1996), for example, Bernstein's notion of *code* contributes to an understanding of what is going on when narrative styles are marginalised. In other words, "narrative inequality" is not only a result of difference, but is part of a deeper (or wider) phenomenon that involves systematic differences of power. As well as saying that we all narrate differently, Hymes is claiming that through these narrative differences we are subject to a process of social empowerment and ideological (economic) positioning (ibid., 114). For example, that a professor's anecdotes get integrated within academic practice whilst those of most students do not is to do with: (1) how these conversational events are located within classroom interactions in which participants have varied conversational rights, and (2) how these rights hang together with other academic practices that offer different educational opportunities for different kinds of participants.

The partiality of Heath's and others' pictures of narrative, language and culture lead to a partial account of the classroom, especially if their approach is applied in educational contexts in which children seem less easily to fall into cultural groupings. (But, as Rosen point out (1988, 44), we may be sceptical that Heath's own context is that straightforward, that we are getting the whole picture even here.) Heath's children bring discourses and social identities to school as a kind of cultural possession. There is little sense in her account of how children and teachers do the work of modulating and transforming these cultures within interaction. Hewitt points out that an allegiance to a

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16 Scollon and Scollon say that they are giving a partial picture of intercultural communication, as people are not situated clearly within one culture or another. Reality, they admit, is much more complex (1981, 5 & 127).

particular cultural group can work in different ways, for example, an affirmation of black culture may be part of a process of resistance, but, on the other hand, it can get turned into a limiting stereotype (Hewitt, 1986, 215). There is a danger that Heath's ethnographic approaches in the hands of others become transformed into something less benign - into cultural stereotyping of learning styles, for example - and encounter resistance from those who do not see themselves as having the identities that are assumed for them.

As with the previous approaches to narrative in this chapter, I have been trying in this section to see what the concept of narrative can add to our understanding of classroom events. Perhaps the above discussion should make us cautious about trying to make any one ethnography do too much. The work summarised above tends to be concerned with tracing the way community narratives get (un)favourably received by teachers within academic events. Although there are dangers in cultural stereotyping, these ethnographies have drawn attention to important, problematic moments in classroom life when there is misunderstanding and difference.

So, in the course of addressing the issue of cultural difference in education, ethnographies can highlight another, equally important, set of related questions:

1. How do "successful" narratives work in classroom events? In other words: How are narratives put to use in non-narrative contexts? What is being achieved academically by the construction and maintenance of discourse boundaries within the classroom; between mainstream and alternative ways of talking; and between narrative and non-narrative discourse? Michaels' and Collins' sharing-time data and Au's reading-aloud sessions do not really give us much detail on how teachers use favourably-received narratives. More is going on than the replacement of one narrative type with another.
2. If there is a danger of reifying cultural difference, can this be avoided by rethinking the role(s) of narrative in ethnography? As well as narrative serving at times as a useful comparative tool, perhaps it can function to show how academic events mentioned in question (1) work? If this is the case, how are we to think of narrative?

8.8 conclusion

I have not wanted to present the above pedagogies as options, although there has been a wide-ranging debate between genre theorists and advocates of process writing that at times seems to imply a choice between these particular approaches (e.g. Reid, 1987). Neither are the different views on narrative "in error". Narrative is not an object in the world to be described more or less accurately. Rather, I prefer to see all of the above approaches as offering different perspectives on classroom realities that can inform EAL pedagogy. When I have been critical of the above approaches, it is at their lack of recognition of their own limits.

I do not, however, want to put the four approaches to narrative on the same footing. Process writing, story-as-vehicle, and genre-based approaches to literacy are all approaches that have a settled view of the nature of narrative, and a set of associated *a priori* concepts used to describe classroom events relevant to their pedagogic frameworks: narrative is a self-reflexive performance, a particular way of presenting conceptual oppositions, or a particular type of text. On the other hand, narrative is used in ethnography differently. It is an analytic tool that can locate cultural difference, but we do not know what a narrative will look like exactly until we see it in a context of a way of life and a network of cultural practices. With ethnographic approaches, the concept of narrative is much more of a speculative concept (Berthoff, 1993); it is an analytic tool that allows us to make connections between, and distinctions within, events. These differences and connections are not solely educational. Ethnography seeks to relate educational practices to other non-educational practices.

Ethnographic approaches to narrative can explicate the boundary between everyday and academic discourse (section 8.7.2). I made the point above that although Heath and Scollon & Scollon got us looking in one very particular, and important, direction for much of the time - that of cultural difference and miscommunication - we were also able to start to ask questions about other kinds of event. In particular: How exactly do successful narratives work in classroom events? This requires looking at how narrative practices are related to non-narrative classroom practices, for example, answering questions, sticking to the point. This particular relationship can be seen as part of a wider educational phenomenon. Ethnomethodological studies of classrooms have shown how classrooms are sites in which the learning of various disciplines, for example, mathematics or science, is *displayed* (Macbeth, 2000). This can involve teachers invoking students' own sense making practices and everyday language-use, and relating this to, and differentiating it from, a representation of an academic way of using language and making sense. (See section 6.5 & 7.2.3.) Giving an account of the precise ways that home and community narrative practices feature in classroom events may help us to understand this more general phenomenon.

This different kind of question - how do successful narratives feature in classroom events? - might involve the use of a different kind of analytic tool, so there is then a second question about how to think of narrative differently. I don't have a very clear answer to this question, but the start of an answer can, I think, be found in recent work which questions traditional views on the nature of narrative. I propose considering three related views on narrative: as a boundary phenomenon, as a family of discourses, and as a fundamental mode of discourse:

(1) Narrative can be positioned between canonical pairs (Langellier, 1989), for example, speech-writing (Tannen, 1989), theoretical-everyday (Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph & Smith, 1992, and Maybin, 1991), or fact-fiction (Moerman, 1973). An analysis of

what a story does becomes a rethinking of the relationship between these other terms, and often a challenging of the prioritisation of one term of an opposition over the other:

> the ubiquitous nature of the personal narrative and its academic study by several disciplines locates it as a 'blurred genre' ... or a boundary phenomenon. ... I prefer the latter term because it more clearly specifies the positioning of the personal narrative somewhere between a number of traditional categorical pairs: between literary and social discourse, between written and oral modes of communication, between public and private spheres of interaction, between ritual performance and incidental conversation, between fact and fiction. Its position as a boundary phenomenon accounts for two peculiarities of personal narrative: first, its long history of being invisible, inaudible, and ignored as an object of research; and second, the ideological masking that results when one of the paired terms, for example literary discourse, is privileged over the other term, social discourse. (Langellier, 1989, 243)

(2) Narrative form varies to a far greater extent than is allowed for by using the traditional Labovian definitions (1972). Narrative is a family of discourses rather than one type of discourse:

> If we have to determine what constitutes stories, we are probably better off considering the narrative genre as a continuous cline, consisting of many subgenres, each of which may be in need of differential research treatment. Since there currently exists no single model that included criteria encompassing all the range of oral narrative forms, we need to approach the problem employing different tools. (Ervin-Tripp & Kuntay, 1997, 139)

For example, there are narratives of play (Sutton-Smith, 1995), future narratives of planning and ambition (Ochs, 1994), and narratives in which just one past event may be referred to (Preece, 1987, and Umiker-Sebeok, 1979). There is no central formal feature that unites narratives. Rather, there are many different connections between different kinds of narratives in terms of similarities in the way experience is shaped or framed through language and other semiotic modes. For example, argumentative exchanges in a playground game may involve a display of a previous wrong move. These exchanges may resemble a component of a more extended recount, given at a later time, of what went wrong in the game.

(3) Narrative is not only a set of overlapping discursive practices. Telling a story about a personal experience involves a fundamentally different way of positioning oneself within the world to that involved in, say, giving an account of a scientific experiment (Sacks, 1992, Shuman, 1986, Davies & Harre, 1990):

> it's a fact that entitlement to experiences are differently available. The idea being that encountering an event like a possible news story, and encountering it as a witness or someone who in part suffered by it, one is entitled to an experience; whereas the sheer fact of seeing things in the world, like getting the story from another is quite a different thing. A way to see the matter is to ask the question, what happens to stories like this once they're told? Do stories like this become the property of the recipient as they are the property of the teller? (Sacks, 1992, 243)

A story teller has a unique relationship to his or her experience, whereas a scientist can report on a set of facts that are accessible to other scientists. One way of

putting this is to say that narrative and non-narrative are *rhetorical modes* as well as discourses (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 2000). A similar point has been made in other ways within the disciplines of cultural psychology (Bruner, 1996), ethnomethodology (Lynch & Bogen, 1996) and the history of ideas (Lyotard, 1979).

An explication of these "alternative paradigms" (Brockmeier & Harre, 1997), when carried out alongside an ethnomethodological analysis[17] of classroom learning events, may be of use in developing frameworks that can supplement the EAL pedagogic models of Cummins and Mohan. The questions now are: *How can these alternative notions of narrative be brought in to an EM analysis of classroom language-use? How can we use these alternative notions of narrative to look in a new way at classroom events, viewing the academic-everyday language-use distinction as partly created by participants, and classroom discourse as heterogeneous? I need to relate the theoretical discussion above to an analytic framework that can be used for classroom language-use.*

Ethnopoetics can provide us with such an analytic approach. Ethnopoetics, although initially developed to represent oral stories in written-text form attending to prosodic, lexical, syntactic, and semantic patterns, has been used by Hymes (1996) to represent patterns of meaning in students' written story texts. The guiding principle behind Hymes' analyses of written texts is his view that an author's shaping of text is disregarded if we just focus on analysing the written mode of language alone. And so *speech*, the authentic expression of experience, is brought in from the margins in this approach to text. Authors manage the relationship between speech and writing within the written text. (See section 8.1, second paragraph.)

This analytic approach at first glance seems to satisfy the criteria for an alternative notion of narrative just set out: (1) it deconstructs the boundary between speech and writing; (2) it has potentially broad applications, as it can be applied to a variety of narratives; and (3) it reveals a writer's relationship to his/her (or the characters') experience and the way this is ordered and shaped. In the next chapter I'll apply ethnopoetics to some written texts in order to see what this analytic framework can do.

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[17] See section 3.6 for an outline of ethnomethodology.

9 making sense with paragraphs: ethnopoetics and writing

Existing EAL models, drawing on the a priori distinction between speech and writing, need to be supplemented with an approach that explicates what this distinction means for students. To make this distinction more manageable, I focus on the teaching and learning of paragraphs. I ask the questions: How are paragraphs used by students? What kinds of meanings are they made to express?

These ethnomethodological questions can be addressed by using Hymes' version of ethnopoetics. *Ethnopoetic analysis draws attention to the ways written texts use narrative features of speech. Narrative is regarded by Hymes as a shaping of experience which can be displayed in written texts. In order to explore how ethnopoetics can be used as an ethnomethodology of writing, I analyse two stories written by one student.*

I ask the question: How does a new writing convention of using paragraphs, introduced between the writing of the first and second stories, relate to the story telling skills exhibited in the earlier story? I find that this paragraphing practice does not simply replace the ways the writer has of shaping her writing. Instead, the writer seems to use this new convention in a way related to her earlier, and continuing, poetic practice.

I return to the question (asked in chapter 8) about how to supplement the Cummins model using a reformulated notion of narrative. The particular ethnopoetic analysis carried out in this chapter does indeed deconstruct the speech-writing distinction. Ethnopoetics can show how a writer can creatively work with writing conventions rather than just adopt and adjust to them. We can also - having learned to recognise and appreciate narratives - start to ask questions about their distribution and reception: How and when do narratives figure in academic events, and who gets to tell stories? Ethnopoetics can be part of an enquiry that takes us beyond ethnomethodological questions. There is a shift in interest from events to practices, and from theoretical to moral problems.

9.1 introduction

In the last chapter I showed the limits of various uses of narrative in education research, and suggested that Hymes' ethnopoetics (EP) may provide an approach that avoids the problems of these other approaches (e.g. reification of writing and text, and prioritisation of structure at the expense of agency). In this chapter I will start to show what EP looks like, and how it can show how the speech-writing distinction matters to writers.

Current EAL pedagogic models, particularly that of Cummins, are based on a distinction between speech and writing which is theoretically construed. EAL students

are seen as challenged by the differences between the natures of writing and speech (section 2.2.1). An elaboration of my argument from previous chapters (see in particular sections 3.4, 3.5 & 3.6) - that Cummins' model needs to be supplemented - involves us asking how differences between writing and speech matter to students and teachers.

The point has often been made that writing is a fundamentally dialogic phenomenon. In this chapter I will explore one particular way that writing in a classroom is dialogic: I'll look at the relationship, produced by the participants, between the speech practices student writers bring with them to a particular educational encounter and the writing practices that they are expected to adopt[1]. Learning to write is learning to say something in a different way.

One of my main questions is: How do writers make sense of a teacher's instructions to write in a particular manner? I am concerned to leave room for possibilities other than those of simple acceptance or rejection of teacher instructions; I will consider how one student uses her existing speech practices in the light of new writing conventions. The theoretical distinction between speech and writing gets supplemented by a question about what it means *for a student* to learn to write.

To make this question more manageable, I will explore in this chapter learning to write in paragraphs. This is a feature which can be linked to the two kinds of distinction mentioned above. We can ask a theoretical question about the nature of paragraphs to explicate the nature of writing and how it is different to speech. We can also ask a question about how students use paragraphs - what they make of them - in order to supplement writing theory and to characterise how the speech-writing distinction is oriented to by learners.

Hymes' (1981, 1985, 1996) version of ethnopoetic analysis can be used to explore the speech-writing boundary by displaying how meaning is made by a writer using the resources of speech. EP is a way of laying out speech as written text. As developed by Hymes, EP can also reshape writing to look more like speech. The analyst reveals what the writer is - or could be - doing below the surface of the written text; and so EP can be used to display the resources of the writers as speakers, showing what they bring with them to their writing.

In this chapter I'll explore the question of what paragraphs can mean for students through an EP analysis of written texts. I'll look at how texts are shaped in the face of

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[1] Writing is dialogic in other ways of course (Heap, 1989). Authors write for an audience. For example, authors shape their discourse according to their assessments about what knowledge is shared between writer and recipient(s) (Nystrand, 1986). It has been argued that very young children's classroom writing develops by becoming embedded in their "ongoing social worlds", i.e. their day to day relationships with their classroom peers: by taking into account shared knowledge of their peer group, authors are often writing for classroom members as well as for their teacher (Dyson, 1988). Also, writing can be responsive to others who are not normally thought of as an audience. If we look carefully at writing behaviours in a classroom we can often see students verbally and non-verbally co-constructing a text as it is being produced (Larson, 1997, Heap, 1989). These interactions, often overlooked, are as much a part of the writing process as the text itself, and the other participants can be regarded as co-authors or co-audience.

newly introduced writing conventions. EP analysis offers one way of exploring the relationship between old and new practices. This approach can be sensitive to both the authors' ways of structuring texts through speech, and also the teacher's efforts to modify these.

I'll now say some more about how EP is based on views on the relationship between speech, writing, and narrative by outlining Hymes' approach to EP.

9.2 the speech-writing distinction, narrative and ethnopoetics

For Hymes, EP explicates both narrative and his "narrative view of the world". Telling stories, particularly personal experience stories, is a universal and essential human trait (1986, 119). Narrative is a mode of thought which cannot be put to one side, even when one tries (ibid., 114). In explicating narrative EP does not just tell us about the form of a text, but is a way of looking at the organisation of experience. This notion of experience is not to be thought of in a purely psychological or mental sense. Narratives are concerned with the ways an individual positions him/herself in relation to actions:

> Narratives are undoubtedly part of a child's experience of language. ... Native American texts turn out to be subtle organisations of lines. The lines are organised in ways that make them formally poetry, and also a rhetoric of action; they embody an implicit schema for the organisation of experience. (Hymes, 1996, 121)

Hymes argues that narratives and oral traditions are marginalised within North American culture and education:

> We tend to depreciate narrative as a form of knowledge, and personal narrative particularly, in contrast with other forms of discourse considered scholarly, scientific, technical, or the like. This seems to me part of a general predisposition in our culture to dichotomize forms and functions of language use, and to treat one side of the dichotomy as superior, the other side something to be disdained, discouraged, diagnosed as evidence or cause of subordinate status. Different dichotomies tend to be conflated, so that standard : non-standard, written : spoken, abstract : concrete, context-independent : context-free, technical/formal : narrative tend to be conflated. (ibid., 112)

Ethnopoetics can uncover the narratives that have been marginalised:

> In a society such as our own, where personal narrative commonly competes with mass media amidst a perpetual circulation of paper, and personal experience is discounted as anecdote, it would not be surprising to find that architecture and artistry are often less. ... It appears however, that affective shaping of stories is far more pervasive than one might expect, that the impulse to narrative form is far from paved over or drowned out, even in unfavourable circumstances. The principles and approach discussed here make possible a new dimension and new degree of precision. (ibid., 167)

The "covert" (ibid., 114) presence of narrative, the essential mode of thought, is often not recognized. The "new approach" of EP draws attention to narratives which have

been "paved over", marginalised by current cultural practices, which do not recognize the universality of narrative.

EP not only uncovers narratives, and thus deconstructs the technical/formal - narrative dichotomy, but it can also challenge the speech-writing dichotomy. Hymes claims that EP can add an extra dimension to the work of Michaels who draws attention to the ways that children's oral stories go unrecognised within classroom literacy events (ibid., 165 & 174) (section 8.7.2):

> Ethnopoetics can help us to see more of what is there. It can bring to light kinds of organisation in oral discourse not hitherto recognised. The vital point is that speech and writing may contrast, not only in terms of the elementary units of composition, lines as opposed to sentences, but also in terms of larger units, verses and stanzas, as opposed to paragraphs. ... When schools seek to develop in students a personal voice in writing, they seek to reintroduce a capacity that through most of human history has come into being with mastery of speech itself. (ibid., 182)

> It is a commonplace in social science today to present what speakers say in lines. What is almost never attempted, is to look for relations among lines. Again and again, however, what speakers say in recounting experience can be found to be given shape by relations among lines. Much of local meaning and larger significance are implicit in such patterning. Yet such accounts are usually heard or read as newspaper articles and prose stories. Information is sought; examples of already determined categories are sought. What is uncommon is to look for signals of form, to expect what has been said to display a close covariation of form and meaning, to be an expression of narrative competence that can be said to be poetic in the sense of implicit form. (ibid., 191)

How can EP reveal speech within writing? It's now time to look at some of the details of EP, and in particular how EP, a way of uncovering oral narrative, can be applied to written texts.

9.3 some details of ethnopoetic analysis

Hymes' version of EP helps us to see "more of what is there" in both spoken and written narrative texts. A story has a shape, a pattern, and an "implicit architecture" (ibid., 200) that conveys meanings often unrecognized in academic contexts. This patterning is what EP strives to display. EP analysis consists of creating a textual shape on the page. Hymes often re-analyses others' stories, adding extra layers of meaning by altering the formal layout. So, how, according to Hymes, is a story's shape revealed?

A story is organised in terms of lines and groups of lines: *verses*, *stanzas*, *scenes*. (I'll say more about what these are below.) The relationship between different units - how we know when one verse ends and another begins, for example - is determined by the principle of *equivalence*. One unit can be seen to resemble (parallel) or differ from another within an overall structure of similarities and differences. (Hymes says that what he does is "practical structuralism" (1985).) These similarities and differences produce meaning. To see how this works we need to look at such features as, for example, intonation, rhyme, similarity of syntactic patterns, grammatical patterns such as tense and aspect, and initial particles, e.g. "and", "then". The analysis constantly moves

between layers of form, looking at how lines hang together with their neighbours. and how they are located within the overall structure. For example, in a five stanza scene, the third (*pivot*) stanza may stand in a relationship of equivalence to both the first two and final two stanzas. And so different relationships, both to the stanza and to the other smaller units of verses, are in play at the same time. This is not just about form alone; the kinds of effect that Hymes draws attention to depend on an understanding of the narrative as a set of actions. However, these actions - related to the "arousal and satisfying of expectation" (1996, 136) - are understood with greater subtlety when subjected to an analysis that attends to poetic form.

It is important to realise that this form of analysis does not depend on *a priori* definitions of what is to count as a verse, stanza etc., or an equivalent line. Each story has its own unique shape, formed by the way the narrator uses the resources s/he has to hand. However, it may be useful at this point to provide a number of analytic guidelines provided by Hymes that I have borne in mind in my own analyses below (1996, 200)[2].

The identification of *lines* is not as clear as the identification of other larger units: "strictly linguistic criteria (presence of verb, presence of certain elements initially) go far toward a provisional segmentation, but it is the patterning of the whole that gives some confidence in the result" (Hymes, 1981, 177). Boundaries between *verses* are often indicated by time expressions and other particles (e.g. "so") at the beginning of lines. Turns at talk also constitute verses. In Hymes' analysis of written stories, he finds that capitalisation can mark the beginnings of verses (1996, 157). A *stanza* is often made up of a set of verses that resemble one another in some way, so there is "internal repetition". Relationships between stanzas are also significant: a beginning of a stanza may repeat the ending of the previous one (Fabb, 1997, 198). Also, a stanza is coherent internally in terms of topic. A change in *scene* is often marked by a change in location or participants. Boundaries between both stanzas and scenes may be marked by grammatical features, e.g. change in tense.

Writing, says Hymes, can use patterns of oral narrative, and EP can be applied to written texts, taking into account punctuation as well as other linguistic devices which draw attention to the narrative shapes and patterns: "the ethnopoetic relations are reflected in details of capitalisation and punctuation" (1996, 159). EP when applied to written texts can bring to the surface those meanings and forms glossed over by applying abstract, formal and context-free categories.

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[2] For a detailed account of ethnopoetic analytic methods, see Hymes, 1981.

9.4 the meaning of paragraphs: an EP analysis of two stories

I will take two stories written by Meliha, a student in the class that provided the data in chapter 3-6. Meliha is a Turkish speaking student who was attending EAL classes at the time, working with an EAL teacher for about an hour a week on her writing skills. She was 10 years old when she wrote the stories and had been in the school for about five years. Meliha was extrovert and talkative, having a number of close friends. She had a reputation amongst her friends as a story-teller, which was confirmed in my radio-microphone recordings.

The first story was written in October, near the beginning of the school year, and the second story in February following some instructions from the teacher about how to write and plan in paragraphs.

In this section I will first present my analysis of the story. I then follow Hymes' (1996) approach in presenting a *profile* of the story (table 9.1 below) - this is also a shorthand for the work that has been done in forming boundaries between lines, verses, stanzas, and scenes.[3] Lastly, I comment upon the stories. The comments made about the individual stories are aimed at drawing out some of the work of presenting the stories on the page. Presentation of the text on the page is at the same time an analysis of the text, and thus the subsequent comments serve to clarify the thinking behind this presentation.

9.4.1 the first story

The story text below (figure 9.1) was the outcome of a writing task related to the book "Goggle Eyes" (Fine, 1989), which the class had been reading aloud as part of their literacy hour. Although the task was to write a continuation of the story, Meliha seems to use elements of the previously read-aloud text to write her own, very different story:

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[3] The way the story is laid out on the page is therefore as open to change as the subsequent comments and interpretations may be, and so the way the following texts are presented are far from final versions of ethnopoetic analysis.

DAMAGED TEXT IN ORIGINAL

figure 9.1: Meliha's October story

Tuesday 14th october 1997
GOGGle eyes

Helly and Liz was in the Capbound, but it was not a Capbound it was a Lost Properity Capbound. Helly said you have to be a migit to fit in This Cupbound. Liz pushed Helly in the comfable place and after the headTeacher locked the Capboard, and Helly and Liz ~~was~~ shouted Help! Help! Help! but no one could not here them. It was dark in the Cupbound. Liz and Helly was scard. They Shouted for Help. But no one could Help. One day one of Helly's Friends was calling Helly, but She could not See her any were, Helly and Liz was ~~Shout~~ Shouting ~~wetm~~. Then Helly Saw Some Goggles in the dark Cupboard Helly said Im Siting on Some ~~things~~ thing. Liz said what is it Liz said I dont no Liz Saw a Light in the lost property Cupboard she put it on and Helly looked at it. It was some Goggle Liz Said That is my Goggle Helly said no it's not your it is mean

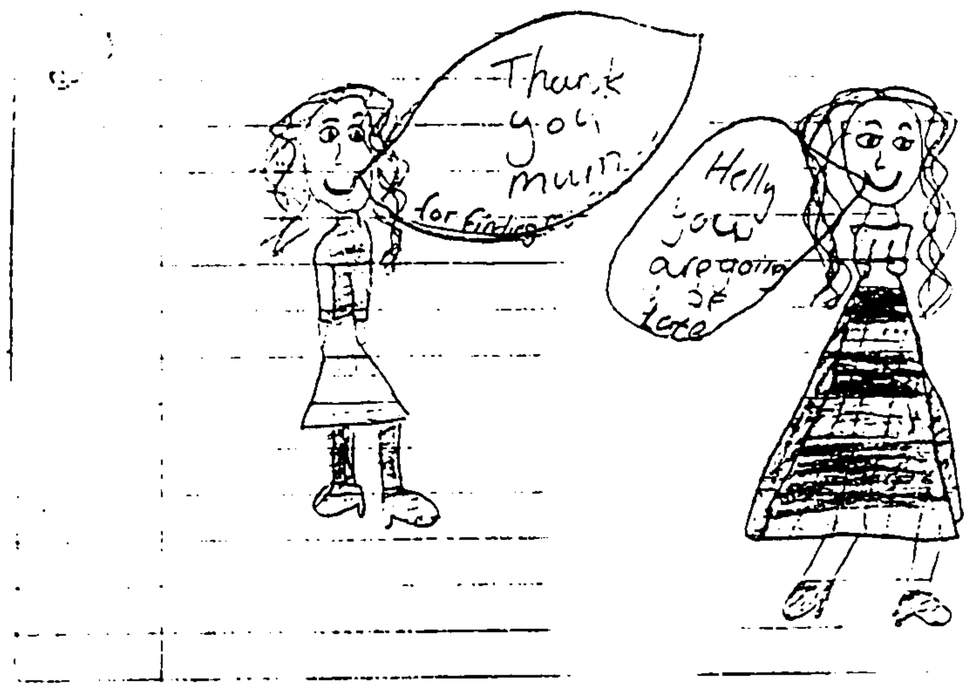
#17/10 Well tried Meliha!

Tuesday 4th November 1997

When it was Lunch time the Hair Headteacher was Walking Then She Hered some-one Helly the Headteacher Said I no were Liz and Helly is. The Headteacher Said Helly Liz were are you Helly Said her is miss She nos were we are She got the key for the Cupboard But She Could not open Liz said to Helly that is a Goggle the Headteacher open the Cupboard Said you and Liz is in trouble said the Headteacher the next day Helly was Crying She lost eher Goggles She Sat on her Chiair but the teacher said how nes what has happen to helly we do not no the next day Helly mum was Cleaning the house. And she went to Helly Bedroom and fine a the Goggle and she put it in the Bin. And when Helly came from School she when she her Bedroom She look for the Goggle But she couldnot find her Goggles her mum came up and Said Helly it Lunch time

Thursday 6 November 1997

She went to Lunch She Said mum did you See my Goggles yes I did I put it in the Bin & Helly said Im not eating Lunch Helly went to the Bin and got the Goggle.



EP analysis of Meliha's October story

1

1Aa Helly and Liz was in the capbound,
2 but it was not a capbound
3 it was a lost property cupbound
4b Helly said
5 you have to be a migit to fit in this cupbound.
6c Liz push Helly in the complable place
7d and after the headteacher lock the cupbound

8Ba and Helly and Liz was shouted
9 "Help Help Help"
10b but no one could not here them.
11c it was dark in the cubound.

12Ca Liz and Helly was sacrd.
13b They shouted for help.
14c But no one could help.

15Da one day one of Helly freind was calling Helly
16b but she could not see her any were.
17c Helly and Liz was shouting.

2

18Ea Then helly saw some goggles in the dark cupboard
19b Helly said.
20 I'm sitting on some thing.
21c Liz said
22 what is it
23d Liz said
24 I dont no
25e Liz saw a light in the lost property cuboard
26 she put it on
27f and helly looked at it.
28g It was some goggl( )
29h Liz said
30 That is my goggle
31i Helly said
32 no it's not your
33 it is mean

3

34Fa when it was lunch time
35 the Headteacher was walking
36b then she hered helly
37c he headteacher said
38 I no were Liz and Helly is.

39Ga The headteacher said
40 Helly Liz were are you
41b Helly said
42 her is miss
43 she no's were we are
44c she got the key for the cupboard

45Ha But she could not open it
46b Liz said to Helly
47 hid the goggles
48c the Headteacher open the cupboard
49d said you and liz is in trouble
50 said the Headteacher

4

51Ia the next day helly came to school
52b she was crying
53 becasue she lost her goggles
54c she sat on hes chir
55d the teacher said
56 how no's what has happen to helly
57e we do not no

5

58Ja the next day helly mum was cleaning the house.
59b And she went to helly Bedroom
60 and find the goggle
61c and she put it in the bin.

62Ka And when helly came from school
63 she when to her bedroom
64b she look for the goggle's
65c her mum came up
66 and said helly
67 it lunch time

68La she went to lunch
69b she said mum
70 did you see my goggles
71c yes I did
72 I put it in the bin
73d helly said
74 Im not eating lunch.
75e Helly went to the Bin
76 and got the goggle.

table 9.1: profile for Meliha's October story

sce/stanza	verse	line	feature	context
1A	abcd	1-7	Helly and Liz	locked in / being lost
B	abc	8-11	Helly and Liz	shout for help / nobody could help
C	abc	12-14	Liz and Helly	shout for help / nobody could hear
D	abc	15-17	one day	friend calling / shout for help
2E	a-i	26-33	Then helly	finding the
3F	abc	34-38	when	being almost
G	abc	39-44	The head teacher said (x2)	being almost found
H	abc	45-50	But .. open (x2)	being found
4I	abcd	51-57	the next day	losing
5J	abc	58-61	the next day	finding
K	abc	62-67	And then	looking for
L	abcde	68-76	she went to lunch	finding

This story is about losing and finding, and being lost and being found. These two themes are interwoven at the level of scenes. Scene 1 involves Helly and Liz being lost to others. Before they are found in scene 3, they (Helly and Liz) find some goggles in scene 2. These are then lost in scene 4, and found in scene 5, after being thrown away in stanza J. Being lost is not immediately followed by being found, losing is not immediately followed by finding. Overall, then, we have being lost (scene 1), finding (scene 2), being found (scene 3), losing (scene 4), and finding (scene 5). Tension is also built up within scenes.

Within scenes there are patterns related to the above structures. In scene 1, there is a pattern of seeking help which does not come: drama is produced through the repeated cries for help, which are unanswered. The structure is: (1) they shout, no one could hear (stanza B), (2) they shout, no one could help (stanza C), (3) no one could see them, they shout (stanza D). They become more and more lost to others, and finally they shout without even the mention of an absence of an answer. The second and third stanzas in scene 3 (stanzas G & H) occupy a central position in the story as a whole: here Liz and Helly are hiding the goggles at the very moment that they (Liz and Helly) are being found. The second stanza (G) ends on an action that suggests immanent discovery (line 44): "she got the key for the cupboard" (compare line 38). Hopes are dashed with the first line of the third stanza (H): "But she could not open it" (line 45). This delay acts as an opportunity for Liz and Helly to hide the goggles (line 46-47). The three stanzas in scene 3 stage the finding of Helly and Liz: it seems as if the headteacher knows where they are, but she does not (end of the first stanza (F), beginning of second stanza (G)), then it seems she can open the door, but she cannot (end of second stanza (G), beginning of third stanza (H)). Also, in scene 5, which begins with the finding of the goggles, the subsequent throwing away of the goggles by Helly's mum postpones the final act of finding. So, when we look at the internal structure of the scenes, we can see that certain stanzas and verses intervene between the losing/being lost and the finding/being found to produce third terms.

These third terms delay the finding or being found, and what this delay means is to be understood partly by exploring the two kinds of loss or absence in the story. Helly and Liz get themselves lost, and are "in trouble" with the headteacher (line 49): the loss here is culpable. Helly loses her goggles and her finding them easily is prevented by her mother throwing them away. Her mother is not quite "in trouble" with Helly, but Helly's "Im not eating lunch" (line 74) can be seen as an expression of criticism.

9.4.2 the teaching of paragraphs: the second story

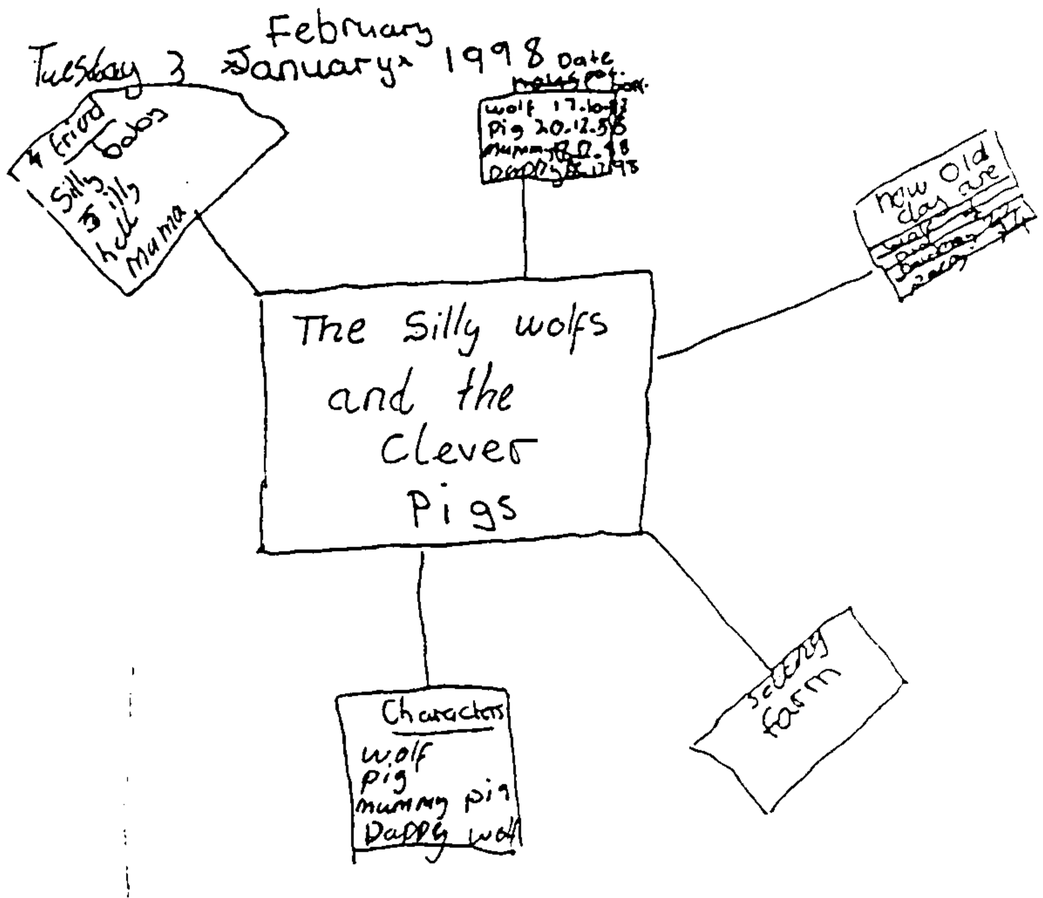
About three months after the above story were written, the students were given the task of writing an alternative fairy story: they had to choose a story and transform it in some way. I will draw attention to two sets of constraints within the classroom that are relevant to this task.

Firstly, the students were asked to plan their stories using a story-web: components of the story were displayed around a central box within which was written the title of the story. Students were asked to say what the setting of a story was, and who the main characters were. The teacher also talked to the class about settings and characters in the stories that the class had been reading aloud together. Settings and characters seemed to get identified through general categories of time, place and character type, rather than through distinctive features (e.g. name and age of character). Secondly, around this time students were asked to write for the first time in paragraphs. Stories that were not written in paragraphs had to be rewritten. The teacher occasionally inscribed paragraphs onto students' texts; he seemed to be showing students that new paragraphs were necessary when there was a change of scene or action.

These changes presented to students amounted to a distinctive story telling style. Structure was to be created through providing a setting, introducing characters, and then providing a series of actions that the characters perform and scenes that they move through. This would seem, at first glance, to be rather different to the students' ways of shaping a story at the beginning of the year.

I'll now carry out an EP analysis of another of Meliha's stories, exploring the ways paragraphs function and then comparing this story to the earlier one. First, a reproduction of Meliha's actual text:

figure 9.2: Meliha's February story



Wednesday 4th January 1998

There once upon a time there was a pig and he was clever and there was a silly wolfs the wolfs went to the clever pig the wolf said how is your friend" the clever pig answered to the wolf to my friend is baby pig clever pig clever pig is my food.

The clever pig said lets go to the farm and get some food" The silly wolfs said yes yes yes and the clever pig said we are going to cross the river one of the wolfs said "I can not swim. So the clever pig said come on. ride my back."

And all the wolfs drowned the clever pig, and ran away from the pig and the clever pig get very angrey angry. That he went to the wolf and blow there houses down one of the wolf ran to the other pigs house and the clever pig came and blow the other pigs house down.

And the clever pig went to the other pigs house and blow the house down. So all the pigs had no home so the clever pig put a pot in the fire and he had a very Good Dinner.

EP analysis of Meliha's February story

1Aa Once upon a time there was a pig
2 and he was claver
3b and there was a silly wolfs
4c the wolfs went to the clever pig
5d the wolf siad
6 how is your friend
7e the claver pig ansaw to the wolf
8 my friend is baby pig
9f claver pig claver pig where is my food.

10Ba The claver pig said
11 lets go to the farm and get same food
12b The silly wolfs said
13 yes yes yes
14c and the claver pig said
15 we are going to cross the river
16d one of the wolfs said
17 I can not swim
18e so the claver pig said
19 cam on my back

20Ca And all the wolfs dround the claver pig
21 and ran away from the pig
22b and the claver pig got very angry.
23c That he went to the wolf
24 and blow there house down
25d one of the wolf ran to the other pigs house
26e and the claver pig came
27 and blow the other pigs house down.

28Da and the claver pig went to the other pigs house
29 and blow the house down
30b so all the pigs had no home
31c so the claver pigs put a pot in the fire
32d and he had a very good dinner.

table 9.2: profile for Meliha's February story

stanza	verses	lines	features	contexts
A	abcdef	1-9	Once upon	introduce characters
B	abcde	10-19	wolfs/clever pig said	crossing the river
C	abcde	20-27	ran away/blow house down	harm and revenge
D	abc	28-32	repeat lines 26 & 27	coda

Stanzas B and C are highly patterned. Stanza B is shaped in the form of a dialogue, and stanza C is based on a pattern of running away and blowing houses down. Stanza A introduces the characters and starts up the action: baby pig's "were is my food" can be seen as a *complicating action* (Labov, 1972). The final stanza (D) is a coda.

The poetic shape that I have decided upon reflects the paragraph structure of the story, and it is these boundaries that are one of the most striking features. It is clear that there is a parallel structure at the end of stanza C (lines 26, 27) and beginning of stanza D (lines 28, 29) which express a similar meaning. Although this formal link between stanzas is unique in the story, there is a similar dramatic relationship between the other stanzas. The second stanza (B) begins with the clever pig responding to baby pig's request for food that occurs at the end of the first (A). The third stanza (C) begins with an action, the drowning of clever pig, that is part of the same sequence of actions contained in the second stanza (B). These actions and sayings could have been put together in stanzas according to location and time, but they are separated through both poetic form and paragraph structure. Both stanzas A and B set up a pattern of turns at talk, which is disrupted by the boundary between A and B, and B and C. In stanza A we have: question-answer; question- .... . In stanza B we have: clever pig said - silly wolf said; clever pig said - wolf said; clever pig said - .

9.4.3 comparison

In the first story there is a complex structuring of two sets of oppositions: finding and losing, being found and being lost. I identified certain moments when finding and being found were delayed, and showed how poetic form dramatized this delay. A similar kind of complexity is to be found in the second story. Boundaries between stanzas are used to highlight dramatic moments, and the climax of the story - the blowing down of all the houses - is repeated at the end of the penultimate and beginning of the final stanza. Meliha is using paragraphs in a highly creative way as another tool in her poetic

repertoire. We do not see a use of paragraphs that involves a separate style of story telling. Paragraph use is integrated with the other poetic forms in this story.

Meliha seems to be able to use the convention of paragraphs as a way of extending her style of story telling; turns at talk, and the conversational logic of asking-answering and offering-accepting, are still important in shaping her story.

These are, of course, fragments of data, and I cannot go so far as to generalise about Meliha's writing competencies. However, I am not directly concerned with giving an account of the way classroom practices of writing in paragraphs transforms a particular student's stock of story-telling styles. Rather, I have tried to characterise through ethnopoetic analysis some textual features which involve a negotiation between new and existing writing practices. I have wanted to draw attention to those parts of the text which display the writer creatively working with teacher-introduced constraints. Meliha uses paragraphs to create interruptions in the conversational logic of her story rather than to apply the character, setting, events schema introduced by the teacher.

9.5 conclusion

Does ethnopoetics satisfy the criteria for a different notion of narrative discussed in chapter 8 (section 8.8)? It would seem from the analysis above that EP has some potential as an analytic tool for the redefinition of the academic-everyday language-use distinction. *Narrative is a boundary phenomenon*; EP can show us how writing and speech are not mutually exclusive categories and how conventions thought of as purely "writerly", such as writing in paragraphs, can be used in creative, speech-like ways.

EP may contribute to the engagement of ethnomethodology with the analysis of texts. Both EM and EP are interested in the local rationalities that people draw on in everyday social practice. EM can show us how texts, particularly sociological and institutional texts, are social constructions (Watson & Seiler, 1992, Watson, 1997, McHoul, 1982). EM's interest is in looking in slow-motion at the submerged, local rationalities that these texts draw on at particular moments of use (or when they are initially formed). EP can offer snapshots of participants' otherwise neglected uses of oral resources to form written texts.

However, EP is not intended by Hymes to stand on its own as an analytic approach, least of all to become a variety of ethnomethodology.[4] EP begs questions about the distribution and reception of narratives. How successful is Meliha's kind of story telling? How is it received by the teacher? Does her use of writing conventions later become orthodox? (Have I identified just a transitional phenomenon?) Does she

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[4] Hymes writes: "if ethnopoetics is to contribute to an understanding, not only of stories, but of those who tell them and hear them and of what happens to narrative competence, to storytelling itself, it must draw on Bernstein's realistic grasp of the complex communities and institutions of urban life." (Hymes, 1996. 206)

later adopt the style of episodic narrative that is encouraged by the teacher? And how does narrative feature in her writing in other curriculum areas? Can Meliha get to use her story-telling skills within the classroom? These questions can be broadened to include questions about the ways that different kinds of narrative, and different narrators, get included and recognised within the routines of the classroom and the school. Who gets to tell stories and when? How are written texts taken up in classroom talk, and whose talk is favoured? EP analysis, when joined with other kinds of questions, goes beyond ethnomethodology.

10 conclusion

My EM analysis of chapters 5 & 6, and my rethinking of EAL pedagogic models and everyday classroom practice, has been quite limited in analytic field of view. I have depended on Cummins' framework to identify areas of analytic interest and not looked at many other aspects of classroom practices: I haven't framed teaching and learning in terms of the varied discourses and voices that students (and teachers) bring with them to the teaching and learning encounter. There is much more at stake for participants than how they perform as learners and teachers.

Does my analytic approach have anything to offer an understanding of these "larger worlds" that students and teachers bring with them? In order to answer this question, I turn to some recent work which shows that EAL teachers are marginalised along with their students.

Recent EAL at times draws on unexplicated notions of power. EM can help us shift from the use of a priori notions of power (in analyses which "reveal" the deployment of power) to the seeing of power as a complex of relationships to be explicated by empirical analysis itself.

10.1 reconsidering the relationship between theory and practice

The arguments in this thesis have had three loci: the affordances and limits of current EAL pedagogies (chapters 1-3), ethnomethodologies of reading in the classroom (chapters 4-7), and the roles of narrative in education (chapters 8 & 9). The relationship between educational theory and practice has been a key theme.

In chapters 1-3 I pointed out the limits of dominant EAL pedagogic models: (i) there is lacking a sense of language-use; (ii) there is no account of the heterogeneity of classroom discourses; and (iii) interpersonal meanings do not figure. I argued for the need to supplement EAL theories with interactional analysis. *These were not arguments for turning from theory to practice, but for discerning new theories* within *practices*.

In chapters 4-6 I used an oral reading event to show how an ethnomethodological approach can capture the close relationship between language-use and classroom learning, and the key distinction between academic and everyday discourse can be reformulated so that it is the students and teacher themselves who create this boundary between discourses. There can then be changes in EAL's understanding of both reading and learning. In supplementing current EAL models I'm carrying out an ethnomethodological respecification of the distinction between academic and everyday language-use. What's important isn't deciding whether to accept or discard existing EAL models, but to explore the relationship between these models and teachers' and students' own everyday theories. In other words, an evaluation of pedagogy needs to take into account the ways students and teacher are making their own

evaluations of the doing, teaching and learning of reading. *Classroom participants are creating their own theories of the doing, teaching and learning of reading. Questions of theory (the nature of models) and practice (what's going on in classroom interaction) become enmeshed.*

The notion of narrative has figured in educational theories that prioritise learners' everyday sense-making practices, and so I turned to theories of narrative in education for a pedagogic model that could supplement Cummins' framework. EAL draws on a number of different uses of narrative from other parts of language education, and I assessed these, concluding that narrative should be thought of as: (1) a family of discourses, (2) a boundary phenomenon, serving to locate or challenge distinctions, e.g. between speech and writing, and (3) a relationship to personal experience. Ethnopoetics can provide a method (rather than a model) that exemplifies the above conceptual points. In chapter 9 I showed how ethnopoetics can contribute to the rethinking of EAL. More generally, ethnopoetics can provide an analytic tool for ethnomethodology as it captures participants' efforts at making meaning with written material. *The application of ethnopoetics to written texts is a way of respecifying the speech-writing distinction, of making practice speak to theory.*

I asked a set of questions at the end of chapter 9 concerning the roles of narratives within students' literacy practices (both inside and outside the classroom). These questions pointed to what I didn't do in chapter 9: show how the construction and reconstruction of narrative texts mattered to students. We need to situate EP analysis within a broader set of questions, to give an account of how text-corrections and students' responses to these are related to other aspects of their literacy practices. We need to give an account of what is at stake for students as they comply with, reject, or transform academic writing practices. How are their identities as writers related to their other academic and non-academic identities?

Both the EM (chapters 4-6) and EP analyses I have carried out prioritise the ways student readers and writers theorise about existing educational practice, but stop short of asking questions about how learning and teaching fit with other aspects of students' and teachers' lives, and about how educational practice might change.

The characterisation of the theory-practice relationship I have given is still limited. In chapters 4-7 I made another kind of reading practice relevant, and made the point that theory (reading pedagogy) emerges from this, but it's hard to see how I can get a critical distance on the practices and theories I've been discussing. Isn't the practice of reading-as-apprehension problematic because of the ways that the students' views on the text are not taken into account? There is a moral dimension to this practice - a sense of what education might be for - that goes beyond viewing the event as the teaching and learning of reading: students may learn to read in a certain way, but at the cost of losing their independence and point of view.

My respecification of EAL (section 7.3) runs the risk of starting to place too much faith in existing educational practices. As an analyst I need to have a more independent voice, and I seem to have started to argue for the *laissez-faire* approach mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.1). This is because I have concentrated on the educational nature of classroom events, not "thickening" (Geertz, 1973) the analysis by showing how and why what happens matters to participants, particularly the students, in these events. I need to introduce a different way of characterizing the nature of theory and practice.

I talked in chapter 7 (section 7.2.4) about rethinking the relationship between practice and theory: practice is not to be thought of as "thoughtless behaviour which exists separately from 'theory' and to which theory can be 'applied'" (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, 113), but, instead, theory is always embedded in practice. Carr and Kemmis point out that although this view is an advance on the positivistic notion of theory, it provides an uncritical view of existing practice:

> The 'interpretive' approach ... rejects the image of the practitioner as a consumer of scientific theories and recognizes instead that educational research must be rooted in the concepts and theories that practitioners have themselves acquired and developed to serve their educational purposes ... Although this emphasis on uncovering the implicit theorizing of practitioners constitutes the major strength of the interpretive approach, its tendency to assume that this more or less exhausts the purpose of educational research constitutes it major weakness. For since educational problems occur only when the self-understandings of practitioners are inadequate, any research activity concerned to resolve these problems cannot rest content with a theoretical description of the practitioner's own meanings and interpretations. Rather, it must be able to make evaluative judgments about their validity and suggest alternative explanations that are in some sense better ... an interpretive approach to educational research excludes any concern with resolving educational *problems* at all. (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, 117)

What does it take to recognise an educational problem? For Carr and Kemmis it is to see an educational act as located socially, historically, and politically. A teacher or researcher theorises, critically, about an act when s/he sees it in relation to its constraints and potential:

> educational activities are *historically located* ... *(*they) project a view of the kind of future we hope to build ... education is a *social activity* with social consequences ... educational is intrinsically *political*, affecting the life chances of those involved (ibid., 39)[1]

Returning once again to the views of Hymes and Cazden on the nature of classroom discourse: my EM analysis of heterogeneity doesn't do full justice to Hymes' notion of *ways of speaking* (section 1.4.1), nor to Bakhtin's exploration of the ways utterances draw on, and bring into dialogue, genres (section 3.6). For Hymes

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[1] See also Burns' (1999): " Inherent in (some views of action research) is a critical dimension which involves reflecting on the social structures and order which surround classrooms. A critical dimension implies going beyond investigating the immediate practices of the individual classroom to analyse critically how these practices are mediated by the unexamined assumptions of the educational system or institution ... This view holds that educational processes are necessarily political and are based on certain, often implicit, ideological positions, beliefs, or values. (Burns, 1999, 31)

understanding educational sites cannot be separated from the complexity of non-educational ways of speaking that are used within these sites:

> We seek out and avoid persons and places, sense acceptance or rejection, in ways that may depend upon the interpretation put upon speech, as welcome or not, as sincere or not, as honoring or dishonoring the self ... Was I interrupted? unintentionally? Who has the right to speak now? How are turns taken in conversation? Are my rights or authority being challenged? ... If one rejects a child's speech, one probably communicates rejection of the child. In rejecting what one wishes to change (or to which one wishes to add), one probably is throwing away the chance of change. ... the cognitive possibilities of a variety of language are distinct from its social meaning ... The language of mathematics has no accent. What is at stake is not logic, rationality, reasoning power, but what we think of each other and ourselves ... the classroom is an expression of community norms, beliefs, values, aspirations, as well; often enough it is a battlefield of contention between conflicting conceptions of such things. (Hymes, 1972, xxxiii)

We don't really see in my analysis why conflict and incommensurability matter to students and teacher in the ways that Hymes refers to - I haven't been able to give a sense of what is at stake for teacher and students, how and why reading in certain ways is important to them. For example, how does being an apprehender of a story relate to other aspects of students' identities - as students who can read other kinds of texts (novels, computer-game magazines, religious pamphlets etc.)? How does reading aloud relate to students' identities as able and fluent readers?

This can be a point about the need for more micro-analysis, not necessarily about the need to look directly to other kinds of data - students' home lives, the teacher's views on what he is doing etc. In my analysis I did not focus on the way a particular student negotiated his/her way through a classroom activity and the different issues that mattered to him/her as s/he did this. McDermott and Webber (1998) make a point about the limitations of an EM analysis of a science lesson by Lynch and Macbeth (1998) which can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to my own analysis:

> Just what is the larger world served by the teachers in the Lynch and Macbeth tapes? ... It is more than possible that children and teacher can put on a mock science lesson, paying full attention to the institutional demands to look like a science class while fully subverting the point of the science lesson. A more detailed analysis of the lesson with more complex transcripts and a fuller account of the subrosa organisation of the children in relation to each other might have given an answer to questions about the many worlds served by their behaviour. It is important to ask the question of just when is science and to identify and appreciate by what work of everyone on the scene it gets done. It is also important to figure out, from the same data, just when is gender, race, success, doing better than others, or whatever else the participants make available to each other (and to those who watch). ... we could ask ... not what is the best way to teach science, but the best way to organise the world so that children might do science to change their lives. (McDermott & Webber, 1998, 335)

With regard to my treatment of reading aloud, I haven't been able to situate empirically my analysis within the "larger worlds" that are at stake. The questions now are: Does my analytic approach have anything to offer an understanding of these larger worlds? That is, how do my analyses relate to aspects of students' lives such as "gender, race, success, doing better than others, or whatever else the participants make available to each other" (McDermott & Webber, 1998, 335)?

I'll try to answer these questions by looking at some recent work that looks at the ideological[2] aspects of EAL, relating this work to recent trends in applied linguistics. I'll argue that my analytic approach can contribute to these ideological perspectives.

10.2 the ideological contexts of EAL

EAL is affected by who has power within educational institutions. The way that EAL teachers work within teaching partnerships, and the way this is viewed by students, is influenced by the differences between the disciplines (EAL versus subject) that the different teachers draw on. These differences are in turn part of the ideology of mainstreaming (sections 1.1 & 1.2). The class or subject teacher can marginalise the language specialist, and Creese (2001) shows some of the ways this can happen: subject teachers (1) tend to spend more time directing students to "core curriculum concerns" (2001, 80) than support-teachers; (2) often answer students' questions in small group interactions, rather than respond with their own questions (as support teachers often do); and (3) are more closely associated with assessments and exams. For "support" to become "partnership" there must be changes to the way language figures in the curriculum, and this involves changing the way power is distributed within the school between teachers as well as disciplines (Creese, 2001, 73). EAL has glossed over these everyday relationships of professional and institutional subordination.[3]

The above arguments about situating EAL within ideological perspectives can be viewed as part of a recent shift in applied linguistics away from the notion of theory as a unified scientific theory (Brumfit, 1983 & 1997, and Cummins, 2000, 204) that guides practice, "mediating" (Widdowson, 1990, 6) between practice and theories drawn from the "pure" disciplines of linguistics, psychology etc.[4] In some areas of applied linguistics there is now more sympathy with Carr's and Kemmis' critical approach to theorising. There has been a problematising of many of the assumptions on which Widdowson's, Brumfit's, and Cummins'[5] mediation of practice and theory rest: where

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[2] I take ideology to be "the way ... language ... sustain(s) relations of domination" (Gal, 1989, 359).

[3] EAL also glosses over its history. See Rampton (1988), who contrasts students' ways of using EAL as a category to comment on racial stereotypes with educational EAL which separates out the linguistic construct of "superficial fluency" from its post-colonial history.

[4] An influential view has been Brumfit's "working definition" of applied linguistics as: "the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is the central issue" (Brumfit, 1997, 93). Applied to second language pedagogy, this means that the applied linguist must be sensitive to both practice and theory: "teaching is an activity, like any other complex, long-term mode of behaviour, which can only be understood by those who have experienced it ... an intermediate language, between that of the teacher and that of the theorist, will develop where there is careful thinking through of the implications of theoretical arguments" (Brumfit, 1983, 62-63). Widdowson sees applied linguistics as "mediating" between theory and practice: "applied linguistics is in my view an activity which seeks to identify, within the disciplines concerned with language and learning, those insights and procedures of enquiry which are relevant for the formulation of pedagogic principles and their effective actualisation in practice" (Widdowson, 1990, 6)

[5] Cummins writes: "The relevance of research for policy is mediated through theory. In complex educational and other human organizational contexts, data or 'facts' become relevant for policy purposes

theory should come from[6], who should speak[7], and how the researcher positions him/herself morally in relation to those who s/he talks about[8].

One of the key issues in recent applied linguistics has been the importance of ideology. Canagarajah (1999) points out that the way language learning and teaching is viewed by students cannot be separated from the historical, political, and economic meanings of English for students. For example, the reaction against communicative language teaching approaches by some Sri Lankan students and teachers and their preference for more formal teaching styles with a focus on grammar can be seen as a way of distancing themselves from the domination of American culture.

These points in EAL and applied linguistics about the need to take account of ideological relationships are very important, but at times the notion of power seems to refer to a rather fixed notion of one group of individuals controlling another group. In the case of Creese's work, for example, teachers and students either have power or they don't, and certain features of talk and interaction either realise this power or its absence. However, there is another approach to ideology, and its relationship to language-use:

> Rather than relying on a prior sociological analysis of power on which we can base an analysis of language and ideology, Foucault's view demands that power remains that which is to be explained, specifically, the analysis of power does not exist prior to the analysis of language. This ... is a crucial way of thinking about discourse analysis: If we take power as already sociologically defined (as held by dominant groups) and we see our task as using linguistic analysis of texts to show how that power is used, our task is never one of exploration, only of revelation. If, on the other hand, we are prepared to see power as that which is to be explained, then our analyses of discourse aim to explore how power may operate, rather than to demonstrate its existence. (Pennycook, 2001, 92-3)

By situating power within discourse, the ways that power operates may be seen to be more complex and analysis of who is in control may be rather more equivocal. I'll

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only in the context of a coherent theory. It is the *theory* rather than the individual research findings that permits the generation of predictions about program outcomes under different conditions." (2000, 204)

[6]Applied linguistics now looks to a wider range of disciplines and research problems than Widdowson and Brumfit allow for. Rather than applied linguistics creating a unified model of language use (Brumfit, 1980), or defending rationality (Widdowson, 1998), applied linguistics is seen as becoming a more open and accommodating space in which "a large variety of practical interest groups, research programmes and development projects can meet" (Rampton, 1997, 11). There is less worry about agreement and more interest in fruitful conversation (Lantolf, 1996).

[7]Roberts (1997) discusses the problems of applying research in terms of bringing about a dialogue between researcher, clients, and participants: the challenge is to find a way to work with competing discourses.

[8]There is a shift from science to moral thinking. The task is not to construct a value-free theory, but to work out where we as researchers, as well as the people we are researching, stand, morally. Coupland questions his own reliance on the taken for granted notion of ageism: "applied linguistics has a *deeper* role to play in the untangling of the genuine moral complexities to do with prejudice and discrimination if it is wary of the assumption that ageism, for example, is based on the uniform and circumscribed moral criteria which apply across all moral contexts. ... there is a need to give research attention not only to *ageist discourse* ... but to cultural *discourses of ageism*" (Coupland, 1997, 35-36). See also Pennycook's *critical applied linguistics* which also tries to bring together the researcher's own moral position with those who s/he is researching (Pennycook, 2001, 9).

try to show this by commenting on Creese's data (see first paragraph of this section) and then returning to, and concluding with, my own.

Firstly, although Creese confines her analysis to teacher talk in the form of directives (e.g "I want you to ..."), the practice of directing students to core curriculum concerns can be exemplified in many other ways, some of them non-verbal. My own analysis of reading-for-apprehension is an example of how teachers direct students' *attention* to core curriculum concerns. This is as much about sharing a common subject as about control. Secondly, quite a lot of work can be done to explore what is happening when subject teachers "give answers to students' questions": Who gets listened to? Who listens to the answers? How are the answers used? The answers may guide as well as inform. There may be more going on than "control through transmission of knowledge". Lastly, subject teachers' represent themselves as being "arbitrators of the exam system" (2001, 82), for example, telling students about the grades they would get in relation to work they were or weren't doing at that moment. In addition to this technical function of exam talk, in many classrooms there is exam and assessment talk about how hard work, exam success, and a good life go together. In this kind of talk it's often hard to determine who is being talked about and what is being predicted exactly. Rather, conceptual links are made: "hard work is rewarded" is at times a moral claim rather than a prediction. Sometimes a more indirect influence is exerted as well as, or instead of, control: there is collusion rather than domination.

Creese claims that the above features of classroom discourse lead to language support being perceived to be the "servant" to "more important" subject-specific learning (ibid., 84). Her analysis is convincing and identifies an important issue in current EAL practice: the tension between the deeply entrenched educational practices that marginalise EAL and the need for EAL to negotiate with these same practices. The language specialist, Creese argues, therefore needs to appreciate the relationship between language and power and to know something about critical discourse analysis. We can now add to this an understanding of interaction and the ways that ideological relationships can be explored through its analysis.

Although my own analysis falls short of directly providing ideological perspectives on learning and teaching reading, it can nonetheless make a contribution to these. I have made a distinction between different ways of reading - apprehension and comprehension - that has challenged rather vague notions of classroom domination and control. I have tried to show how a teacher's questions designed for reading-as-apprehension were not necessarily subordinating students and their interpretations; and that an analysis of the interactional roles that these kinds of questions play in the reading practices of the classroom can display more subtle relationships of influence and control. In other words, our views on the kind of talk that I have characterised as reading-as-apprehension become more equivocal: on the one hand, used in certain ways (sparingly), this kind of reading may have more to do with

sharing a common purpose (mutual influence); on the other hand, its injudicious use (i.e. its overuse) may have more to do with control and domination.

My analysis, then, can speak to ideological accounts of the setting that provides my data. A micro-analysis of oral reading can be related to other actions at a variety of analytic levels (e.g. following individual students through an activity, finding out about their other reading practices). A key dimension of my analysis - the close attention to the details of interaction and participants' perspectives - can contribute to the current rethinking of EAL.

appendix 1: transcription symbols and conventions

<u>stress</u>	stressed syllable
# #	quiet speech
LOUD	loud speech
::::::	elongated sound
~ ~	quick speech
( )	unclear speech
= the boy = who = cried =	overlap
he =said	latched speech: one turn very quickly following another
(4)	pause in seconds
p-	part of a word abruptly cut off
(( ))	commentary on gesture or other relevant feature
.....	indicates that gesture follows below
?	end of tone unit: final rising tone
,	slight final rise
/	slight final fall
//	final falling tone
hhhhh	laughter

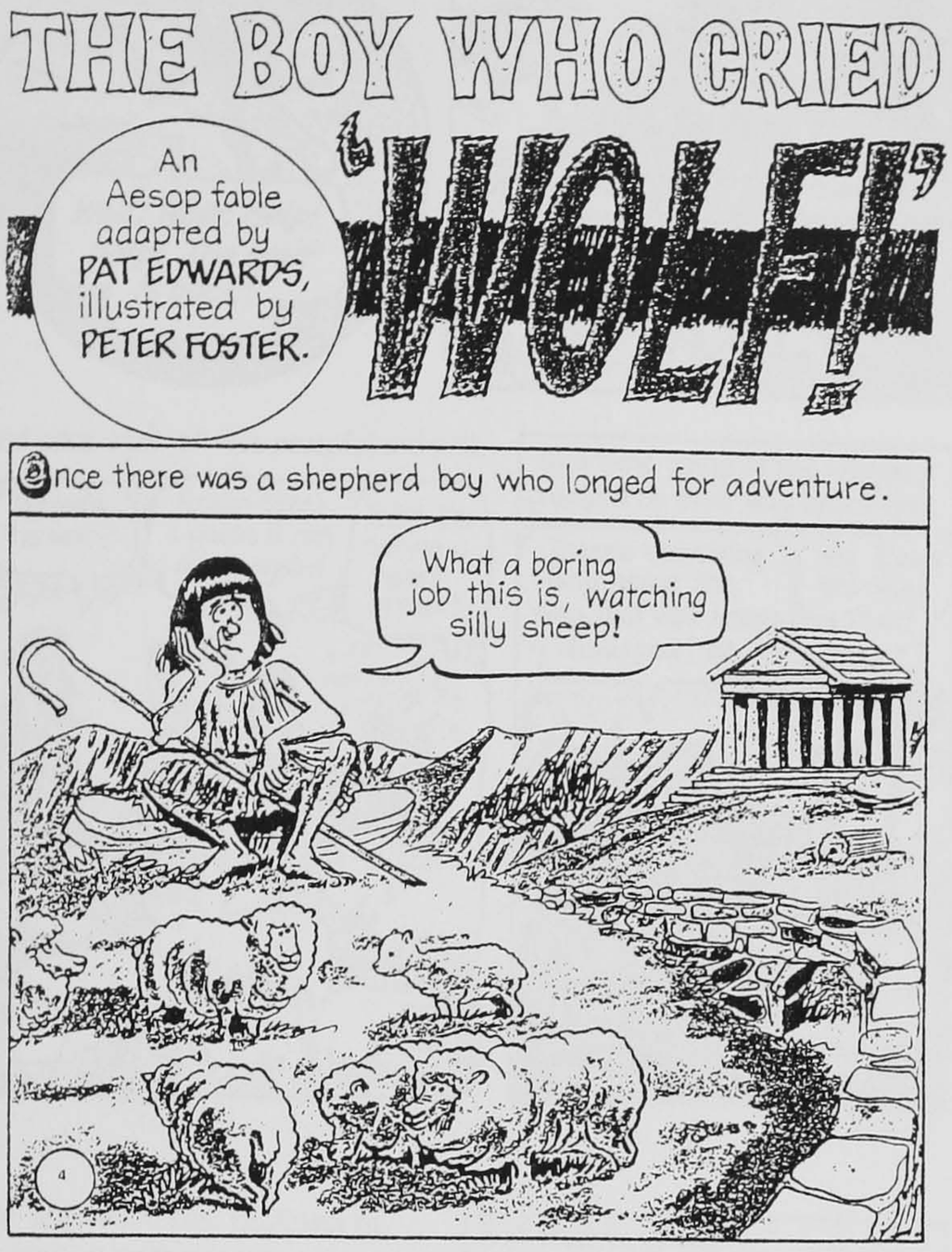
O'Connor & Arnold's (1973) intonation system

head:

high	low	falling	rising

nucleus:

high fall	low fall	fall rise
high rise	low rise	rise fall


THE BOY WHO CRIED 'WOLF!'
An Aesop fable adapted by PAT EDWARDS, illustrated by PETER FOSTER.
Once there was a shepherd boy who longed for adventure.
What a boring job this is, watching silly sheep!
4

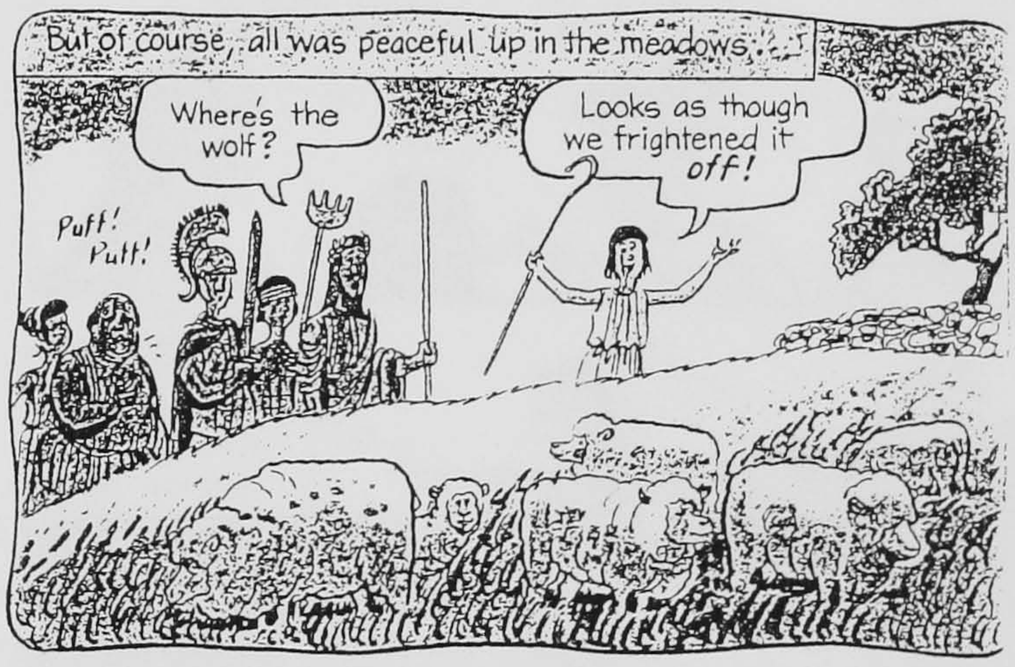

Eat, eat, eat... That's all they do all day!
MUNCH!
MUNCH!


Nothing ever happens! It's so dull and boring!

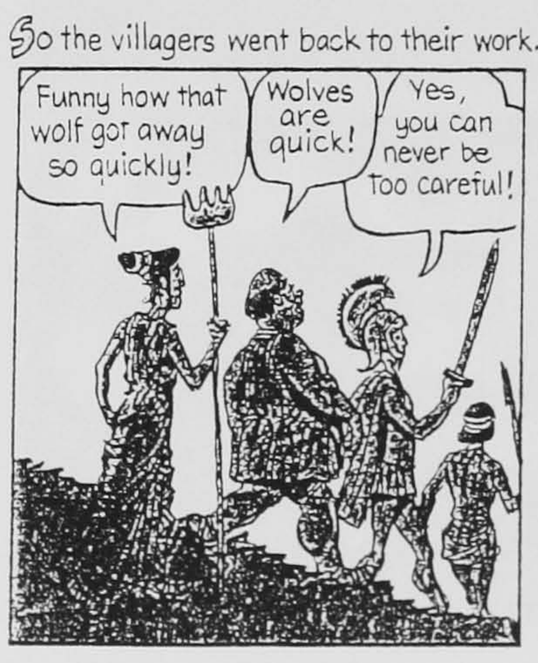

Then one day he said out loud.
If only a wolf would turn up. That would be exciting!


And at once a wicked thought came into his mind.
Why don't I pretend a wolf is trying to eat my sheep?
5


Down to the village he raced.
Help! Help! A wolf is eating my sheep!


But of course, all was peaceful up in the meadows.
Where's the wolf?
Puff! Puff!
Looks as though we frightened it off!


The villagers rushed to help.
This is fun!
Quick! Follow me!
I hope we're in time.
How many wolves did he say?
Six, I think!
5


So the villagers went back to their work.
Funny how that wolf got away so quickly!
Wolves are quick!
Yes, you can never be too careful!


And the shepherd boy spent the rest of the day laughing.
I really tricked them!
HA! HA!
7

Two days later, the same wicked thought popped back into the boy's mind. Off to the village he raced again.

Wolf! Wolf! Help! Help! The wolf is back!

Up the hill raced the villagers.

Hurry, before it's too late!

Must be the same wolf.

We've got to get it this time!

Yes, or there'll be no roast lamb for anyone!

And once again all was peaceful and still.

Where's the wolf?

Er-(snigger) I guess it ran away again!

Think I'm having a heart attack!

PUFF! PUFF!

This time some of the villagers grumbled on their way back home.

There's something fishy about the way that wolf keeps disappearing!

Yes. I was thinking that!

Hmm! But it's better to be sure than sorry.

The shepherd boy realised he couldn't go on tricking the villagers.

What a pity I have to stop. Now it's dull and boring again.

The boy was terrified.

A wolf – a real wolf! Oh, what will I *do*?

BAA!

BAA!

BAA!

BAA!

But that very day...

BAA!

BAA!

BAA!

The wolf was big and fierce. The boy needed help from the villagers.

Wolf! Wolf! Help! A Wolf is eating my sheep!

The shepherd boy waited a whole week before he played the trick again.

Help! Help! puff! puff! The *wolf* is back again.

Are you certain?

I don't trust him!

Up the hill they raced behind the boy!

Please run faster!

I'm getting too old for this!

We must catch him.

PUFF!

PUFF!

PUFF!

PUFF!

Oh, yes! It was ***black*** and ***hairy*** and had such sharp teeth. The poor, poor sheep! sob! sob!

The villagers were not sure whether to believe him but he was very convincing.

And down they came again, angry and disgruntled.

He's tricking us. There isn't any wolf!

You're right. It's the last time I'll run up that hill for nothing!

Me too. The doctor says I have to give up running!

But this time no one believed him.

Get lost! We know there's no wolf!

!?!

You can't trick us again!

Little liar!

And when the boy went back up to the meadow...

I'll never be able to save them!

No *sheep*! No *job*! How stupid can you be!

Moral: Liars are never believed, even when they ***do*** tell the truth.

Christian

Christian (1)

1	Mr. E	can you read the title of this story please christian?
2	Mark	the boy,
3		(.5)
4	Christian	the boy who (.5) reads//
5	Mr. E	ah ah//
6		(.5)
7	Christian	the = boy = who,
8	Vanderroy	= cried//=
9		(.5)
10	Mr. E	cried,
11	Mark	=cried//
12	Christian	=cried//
13		(3)
14	Mark	who = c(ried) =
15	Christian	= b- bol//=
16	?	w( )
17	Mr. E	= wolf//=
18	?	=wolf//=
19	Christian	wolf//
20		(1)
21	Vanderroy	the boy who =cried WO::LF?=
22	Mr. E	= right, = and this is an aesop fable, adapted by
23		pat edwards,
24		illustrated by peter foster, can you begin reading mark//
25		(2)

Christian (2)

1	Mr. E	well the people that owned the sheep, christian//
2	Christian	down, do::wn to the (1) villa,
3	Mr. E	=village=
4	?	=(vill)age=
5	Christian	village he ran//
6	Mr. E	uh uh, he = raced =
7	?	= raced =
8	Christian	he raced// help/ help/ a wol/ a wolf, is eating, my cheep, my cheep//
9	Mr. E	carry on mark,

Christian (3)

1	Christian	carry on ( ) erm christian,
2		(1)
3	Christian	up the hill, (do you) read this?
4	Mr. E	yes/
5		(1)
6	Mr. E	YE::S,
7	?	up//
9	Christian	up the hill, raced the- (1) villa(ches)//
10	Mr. E	villagers//

11	Christian	villag#ers,# (1) hurry/ before it's too la#te//# (3) must be the some
12		wolf/ (.5) sa- we- we've,
13	Emmanuel	we have,
14	Christian	we've got/ we've got, to get it hims (.3) time//
15		(1)
16	?	yes
17	Christian	=ye::s,
18	Mark	=yes,
19	Christian	=or the::re'll (1) by-, be. (1) buy no roast lamb fo:::r (2) anyone//
20	?	any( )
21	Mr. E	carry on mark/

Mark

Mark (1)

1	Mr. E	and this is an aesop fable, adapted by pat edwards, illustrated by peter
2		foster, can you begin reading mark//
3		(2)
4	Mark	once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy, who lo:::ngs for
5		adventure, what a bo:::ring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
6	Mr. E	do you think it is a boring job//

Mark (2)

1	Mr. E	carry on mark
2	Mark	the villagers (rushed) to h(ouse), this is fun, quick follow me,
3		i hope (.3) we're in time, how many wolves did he say, six i think,
4	Mr. E	carry on marcus

Mark (3)

1	Mr. E	carry on mark,
2	Mark	sir i heard a story like this,
3	Mr. E	yes, but carry on we'll discuss it later all right?
4	Mark	and once again all was peaceful and still, where's the wolf, e:::r
5		s:::::inger = i =
6	Mr. E	= snigger=
7	Mark	i guess it ran away again, i think i'm having a heart attack//
8	Mr. E	we'll stop there and carry on next week//
9		(1)
10	Mark	=( )=
11	Mr. E	= right =
12	Mark	sir, sir i've heard a story like this,

Marcus

Marcus (1)

1	Mr. E	all right it was a long long time ago, carry on reading please marcus//
2	Marcus	eat/ eat/ eat// that's all/ they do/ all day//
3	Mr. E	carry on rezwana,

Marcus (2)

1	Mr. E	carry on marcus,
2	Marcus	but of course all- (.5) but of course/ (1) all:: was peaceful up #the#

3	meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::, (1)
4 Mark	through
5 Marcus	= ~ where's the wolf~
6 Mr. E	looks as though,
7 Marcus	looks as thought = we = frightened it off//
8 Mark	= no =
9 Mr. E	and did they frighten it off?

Rezwana

Rezwana (1)

1 Mr. E	carry on rezwana//
2	(2)
3 Rezwana	n- nothing/ ev- every/
4 Mr. E	ever,
5 Rezwana	ever, happened/ it/ it's/ so:::, (1)
	....
	((Rezwana moves body forward on "it's))
6 Mr. E	dull/
7 Rezwana	=dull/ and/ (.7) boring/
8	(2)
9 Mr. E	vanderroy,

Rezwana (2)

1 Mr. E	right carry on please rezwana
2	(1)
3 Rezwana	so:::/ (.3)
4 ?	#the villagers,#
5 Rezwana	=the::/ villagers/ went/ back/ to/ their/ work// (3)
6 ?	#(funny) = h( )#=
7 Rezwana	=fu- fi-=
8 Mr. E	= funny =
9 ?	=funny=
10 Rezwana	=funny/ how/ that/ wolf/ get/
11 ?	got/
12 Rezwana	=awa- got/ away/ so/ quickly/ (2) wi(th)/
13 ?	(wavee),
14 Rezwana	=wavee,
15 Mr. E	wolves/
16 Rezwana	wolves/ o::r/ quick/ (.5) y::es/ (.5)
17 Mr. E	#you can = ( )#=
18 Rezwana	= you= can/ never/ be:::/ too:::/(1)
19 ?	#care#
20 Mr. E	careful,
21 Rezwana	= careful/=
22 ?	= careful/ =
23 Mr. E	carry on please vanderroy

Vanderroy (1)

1	Mr. E	vanderroy, (.5) then/
2	?	= (it)
3		(1)
4	Vanderroy	then one day he said/ (2) out- out//
		.....
		((Vanderroy shakes head on second "out"))
5		(1)
6	Mr. E	#loud#,
7	Vanderroy	loud//
8		(2)
9	Christian	if,
10	Vanderroy	#if on (.3) if#
11	Mr. E	= =if = only
12	Marcus	=sir=
13	Vanderroy	=only/ a/
14		(.5)
15	Mr. E	wolf,
16	Vanderroy	wolf/
17		(2)
18	Vanderroy	w/
19	Mr. E	would/
20	Vanderroy	would/
21		(1)
22	Mr. E	turn,
23	Vanderroy	turn up/ then/
24	Mr. E	that/
25	Vanderroy	that/
		.....
		((Vanderroy shakes head on "that"))
26	Emmanuel	that/
27	Mr. E	would
28	Vanderroy	=would be excellen- no//
29	Mr. E	exciting/
30	Vanderroy	exciting//
31		(1)
32	Mr. E	carry on emmanuel,

Vanderroy (2)

1	Mr. E	carry on please vanderroy/
2	Vanderroy	and the/ (3)
3	Mark	shepherd/
4	Vanderroy	shepherd boy/ (1)
5	Mark	spent/
6	Mr. E	sp=ent =/
7	Vanderroy	=we-= spent/ (.5) the/ (1)
8	Emmanuel	rest
9	Vanderroy	rest/of/ (.5) the day/ laughing/ (2) i. (2) # i // #
10	Mr. E	really,
11		(2)

12 Vanderroy # i #
13 Mr. E i,
14 (1)
15 ? = really,=
16 Mr. E = really,=
17 Vanderroy really, (1) tricked them ha ha//
18 Mr. E do you think he's enjoying himself playing a joke on them,
19 Vanderroy one time there's (nearly) a wolf going to come, and he's going to
20 = ( )=
21 Mr. E =right,= carry on emmanuel,

Emmanuel

Emmanuel (1)
1 Mr. E carry on emmanuel?
2 Emmanuel and then//
3 Mr. E no, at once,
4 ? sir ( ) ((from outside group))
5 Mr. E and at once,
6 Emmanuel and at once a
7 Mr. E ~have you stuck them in your book?~ ((aside))
9 Emmanuel wickt/ (1) and at once a wickt tor
10 Mr. E =wicked,
11 Emmanuel wicked tor/
12 Mr. E thought,
13 Emmanuel thought/ came into his mind// why don't i
14 (2)
15 Mr. E what word is that does anybody know?
16 Emmanuel which one?
17 Mr. E why don't i? (2) break the word up?
18 ? pre-
19 ? mr edwards ((from outside group))
20 ?? pret
21 Christian pretend
22 Mr. E say it/ i heard it/
23 Emmanuel pretend//
24 Mr. E pretend/ good//
? pretend
25 Emmanuel a wolf is (0.3) try- trying to eat my sheep//
26 Mr. E what does it mean to pretend,

Emmanuel (2)
1 Mr. E right, carry on emmanuel,
2 Emmanuel two days later/ the s::ame wicked (.5) th- th- thought/
3 Mr. E =thought/
4 (3)
5 Emmanuel pop- poppe:::d/
6 Mr. E popped/
7 Emmanuel popped back into the boy's mind/ off to the village/ he raced again/

8 wolf/ wolf/ help/ help/ the wolf/ is back/
9 Mr. E carry on ( ) erm christian,

appendix 4: talk about text

talk about text (1)

1 Mark once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy/
2 who lo:::ngs for adventure/
3 what a boring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
4 Mr. E do you think it <u>is</u> a boring job/
5 ? ( )
6 Mr. E = watching sheep a:::ll da::y lo::ng,
7 Mark =ye::s/
8 Mr. E nothing to do/
9 Marcus you don't have to watch them//
10 (.5)
11 Mr. E yeh you do//
.....
((Mr. E looks down at book))
12 Marcus why?
13 Vanderroy just in =case they get out there // =
14 Mr. E =case there's anima:::::::ls/= or they get out
.....
(Chris turns head slightly towards Vanderroy))
15 Vanderroy = li=ke there=
16 Mr. E =that's ri =ght, and, where do you think this story's happening,
17 ~look at the~ <u>build</u>ings in that = picture whe- / =
.....
((Chris points to picture in book))
18 Vanderroy = i know/ greece//=
19 Mr. E and what type of-, wha-, when do you think/
.....
((Mark holds hand up))
20 (0.5)
21 Mr. E now? today?
.....
((Mark keeps hand up))
22 Vanderroy no::/
23 Mark? no:,
24 Vanderroy a long time ago//
((Mr. E looks and nods at Mark))
25 Mark in the olden times//
.....
((Christian looks at Mark))
26 Mr. E = yes/ =
27 Vanderroy =ancient greece=
28 Mr. E in <u>ancient</u> greece/ =alright=/
.....
((Christian raises hand))
29 Christian = in/ = in victorian times//
30 Mr. E no:/ even long before the victorian times/ about/
31 this was about three thousand years ago//
32 Christian a::h/

33 ? e::h/
34 Mr. E it was a long long time ago/ carry on reading please marcus//
35 Marcus eat eat eat / that's all they do all day/
36 Mr. E carry on rezwana//
37 (1)

talk about text (2)
1 Emmanuel thought came into his mind why d::on't i,
2 (2)
3 Mr. E what word is that does anybody know?
4 Christian which one?
5 Mr. E why don't i,
6 (2)
7 Mr. E break the word up/
8 ?? pret-
9 Marcus mr edwards/
10 ?? pret-
11 Christian pretend/
12 Mr. E say it i heard it,
13 Emmanuel? pretend/
14 Mr. E pretend good/
15 Emmanuel a wolf is tr- trying, to eat my sheep/
16 Mr. E what does it mean to pretend, if you're going to pretend that a wolf's
17 = ( ) sheep, =
18 Vanderroy = fake it/ =
19 Mr. E you're going to fake it alright, you're going to make it up//
20 Marcus see the boy, the boy, does the boy get paid,
21 Mr. E yes he got paid for being there/
22 Marcus by who?
23 Mr. E well the people that owned the sheep, christian/

talk about text (3)
1 Marcus = ~ where's the wolf~
2 Mr. E looks as though,
3 Marcus looks as thought = we = frightened it off//
4 Mark = no =
5 Mr. E and <u>did</u> they frighten it off?
6 ?? no::/
7 Mr. E why not/
8 Marcus there was no wolf,
9 Mr. E there was no wolf / he made up the story / but they don't know that,
10 ? i know =( ) =
11 Mr. E =look= at that <u>fat</u> man there how he's puffing, do you see, look
12 he's saying puff puff / he's so tired/
13 ? i know wh( )
14 Mr. E right, carry on please rezwana/

appendix 5: complete transcript of reading event

Mr. E	can you read the title of this story please christian?
Mark	the boy,
	(.5)
Christian	the boy who (.5) reads//
Mr. E	ah ah//
	(.5)
Christian	the = boy = who,
Vanderroy	= cried// =
	(.5)
Mr. E	cried,
Mark	=cried//
Christian	=cried//
	(3)
Mark	who = c(ried) =
Christian	= b- bol//=
?	w( )
Mr. E	= wolf//=
?	=wolf//=
Christian	wolf//
	(1)
Vanderroy	the boy who =cried WO::LF?=
Mr. E	= right, = and this is an aesop fable, adapted by pat edwards, illustrated by peter foster, can you begin reading mark//
	(2)
Mark	once there was a bo:y- (.3) was a shepherd (.3) boy, who lo:::ngs for adventure, what a bo:::ring job this is/ watching silly sheep//
Mr. E	do you think it is a boring job//
?	( )
Mr. E	= watching sheep a:::ll da::y lo::ng,
Mark	=ye::s/
Mr. E	nothing to do/
Marcus	you don't have to watch them//
	(.5)
Mr. E	yeh you do//
	.....
	((Mr. E looks down at book))
Marcus	why?
Vanderroy	just in =case they get out there// =
Mr. E	=case there's anima::::::::ls/= or they get out
	.....
	((Chris turns head slightly towards Vanderroy))
Vanderroy	= li=ke there=
Mr. E	= that's ri=ght, and, where do you think this story's happening, ~look at the~ <u>build</u>ings in that = picture whe- / =
	.....
	((Chris points to picture in book))
Vanderroy	= i know/ greece// =

Mr. E	and what type of-, wha-, when do you think/
	.....
	((Mark holds hand up))
	(0.5)
Mr. E	now? today?
	.....
	((Mark keeps hand up))
Vanderroy	no:://
Mark?	no:,
Vanderroy	a long time ago//
	.....
	((Mr. E looks and nods at Mark))
Mark	in the olden times//
	.....
	((Christian looks at Mark))
Mr. E	= yes/ =
Vanderroy	=ancient greece=
Mr. E	in <u>ancient</u> greece/ =alright=/
	.....
	((Christian raises hand))
Christian	= in / = in victorian times//
Mr. E	no:/ even long before the victorian times/ about/
	this was about three thousand years ago//
Christian	a:::h/
?	e::h/
Mr. E	it was a long long time ago/ carry on reading please marcus//
Marcus	eat eat eat / that's all they do all day/
Mr. E	carry on rezwana//
	(2)
Rezwana	n- nothing/ ev- every/
Mr. E	ever,
Rezwana	ever, happened/ it/ it's/ so:::, (1)
	....
	((Rezwana moves body forward on "it's))
Mr. E	dull/
Rezwana	=dull/ and/ (.7) boring/
	(2)
Mr. E	vanderroy,
	(.5)
Mr. E	then/
?	= (it)
	(1)
Vanderroy	then one day he said/ (2) out- out/
	.....
	((Vanderroy shakes head on second "out"))
	(1)
Mr. E	#loud#,
Vanderroy	loud//
	(2)
Christian	if,
Vanderroy	#if on (.3) if#

Mr. E	= =if = only
Marcus	=sir=
Vanderroy	=only/ a/
	(.5)
Mr. E	wolf,
Vanderroy	wolf/
	(2)
Vanderroy	w/
Mr. E	would/
Vanderroy	would/
	(1)
Mr. E	turn,
Vanderroy	turn up/ then/
Mr. E	that/
Vanderroy	that/
	.....
	((Vanderroy shakes head on "that"))
Emmanuel	that/
Mr. E	would
Vanderroy	=would be excellen- no/
Mr. E	exciting/
Vanderroy	exciting//
	(1)
Mr. E	carry on emmanuel?
Emmanuel	and then//
Mr. E	no, at once,
?	sir ( ) ((from outside group))
Mr. E	and at once,
Emmanuel	and at once a
Mr. E	~have you stuck them in your book?~ ((aside))
Emmanuel	wickt/ (1) and at once a wickt tor
Mr. E	=wicked,
Emmanuel	wicked tor/
Mr. E	thought,
Emmanuel	thought/ came into his mind// why don't i
	(2)
Mr. E	what word is that does anybody know?
Emmanuel	which one?
Mr. E	why don't i? (2) break the word up?
?	pre-
?	mr edwards ((from outside group))
??	pret
Christian	pretend
Mr. E	say it/ i heard it/
Emmanuel	pretend//
Mr. E	pretend/ good//
	pretend
Emmanuel	a wolf is (0.3) try- trying to eat my sheep//
Mr. E	what does it mean to pretend, if you're going to pretend that a wolf's
	= ( ) sheep, =
Vanderroy	= fake it/ =

Mr. E	you're going to fake it alright, you're going to make it up//
Marcus	see the boy, the boy, does the boy get paid,
Mr. E	yes he got paid for being there/
Marcus	by who?
Mr. E	well the people that owned the sheep, christian//
Christian	down, do::wn to the (1) villa,
Mr. E	=village =
?	=(vill)age=
Christian	village he ran//
Mr. E	uh uh, he = raced =
?	= raced =
Christian	he raced// help/ help/ a wol/ a wolf, is eating, my cheep, my cheep//
Mr. E	carry on mark,
Mark	the villagers (rushed) to h(ouse), this is fun, quick follow me, i hope (.3) we're in time, how many wolves did he say, six i think,
Mr. E	carry on marcus
Marcus	but of course all- (.5) but of course/ (1) all:: was peaceful up #the# meadow/ whe::re's the wolf/ (1) look:s:: as- (.5) looks::, (1)
Mark	through
Marcus	= ~ where's the wolf~
Mr. E	looks as though,
Marcus	looks as thought = we = frightened it off//
Mark	= no =
Mr. E	and <u>did</u> they frighten it off?
??	no::/
Mr. E	why not/
Marcus	there was no wolf,
Mr. E	there was no wolf / he made up the story / but they don't know that,
?	i know =( )=
Mr. E	=look= at that <u>fat</u> man there how he's puffing, do you see, look he's saying puff puff / he's so tired/
?	i know wh( )
Mr. E	right, carry on please rezwana/ (1)
Rezwana	so:::/ (.3)
?	#the villagers,#
Rezwana	=the::/ villagers/ went/ back/ to/ their/ work// (3)
?	#(funny) = h( )#=
Rezwana	=fu- fi-=
Mr. E	= funny =
?	=funny=
Rezwana	=funny/ how/ that/ wolf/ get/
?	got/
Rezwana	=awa- got/ away/ so/ quickly/ (2) wi(th)/
?	(wavee),
Rezwana	=wavee,
Mr. E	wolves/
Rezwana	wolves/ o::r/ quick/ (.5) <u>y::</u>es/ (.5)
Mr. E	#you can = ( )#=
Rezwana	= you= can/ never/ be:::/ too:::/ (1)
?	#care#

Mr. E	careful,
Rezwana	= careful/=
?	= careful/ =
Mr. E	carry on please vanderroy/
Vanderroy	and the/ (3)
Mark	shepherd/
Vanderroy	shepherd boy/ (1)
Mark	spent/
Mr. E	sp=ent =/
Vanderroy	=we-= spent/ (.5) the/ (1)
Emmanuel	rest
Vanderroy	rest/of/ (.5) the day/ laughing/ (2) i, (2) # i // #
Mr. E	really,
	(2)
Vanderroy	# i #
Mr. E	i,
	(1)
?	= really,=
Mr. E	= really,=
Vanderroy	really, (1) tricked them ha ha//
Mr. E	do you think he's enjoying himself playing a joke on them,
Vanderroy	one time there's (nearly) a wolf going to come, and he's going to
	= ( )=
Mr. E	=right,= carry on emmanuel,
Emmanuel	two days later/ the s::ame wicked (.5) th- th- thought/
Mr. E	=thought/
	(3)
Emmanuel	pop- poppe:::d/
Mr. E	popped/
Emmanuel	popped back into the boy's mind/ off to the village/ he raced again/
	wolf/ wolf/ help/ help/ the wolf/ is back/
Mr. E	carry on ( ) erm christian,
	(1)
Christian	up the hill, (do you) read this?
Mr. E	yes/
	(1)
Mr. E	YE::S,
?	up//
Christian	up the hill, raced the- (1) villa(ches)//
Mr. E	villagers//
Christian	villag#ers,# (1) hurry/ before it's too la#te//# (3) must be the some
	wolf/ (.5) sa- we- we've,
Emmanuel	we have,
Christian	we've got/ we've got, to get it hims (.3) time//
	(1)
?	yes
Christian	=ye::s,
Mark	=yes,
Christian	=or the::re'll (1) by-, be. (1) buy no roast lamb fo:::r (2) anyone//
?	any( )
Mr. E	carry on mark/

Mark	sir i heard a story like this,
Mr. E	yes, but carry on we'll discuss it later alright?
Mark	and once again all was peaceful and still, where's the wolf, e:::r
	s:::::inger = i =
Mr. E	=snigger=
Mark	i guess it ran away again, i think i'm having a heart attack//
Mr. E	we'll stop there and carry on next week//
	(1)
Mark	=( )=
Mr. E	= right =
Mark	sir, sir i've heard a story like this,
?	and then a wolf is going to really come and eat (them)
Mark	yes = and the villagers are not going to believe = him ((to emmanuel))
Mr. E	= yes because i say so, that's why = ((aside))

the westcoast reader **extra**

SPECIAL ISSUE ON CAR INSURANCE JANUARY 1983

Bad news for bad drivers

In 1983 bad drivers in B.C. have to pay a lot more for their insurance than in 1982.

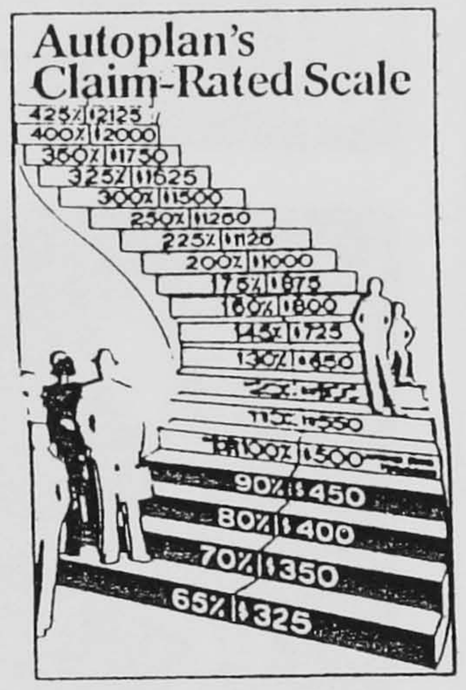
The steps on the right explain the new cost of Autoplan insurance for B.C. drivers. The cost of your insurance starts with a base rate. The average base rate in B.C. is $500. This cost can go up or down depending on how safely you drive.

For each accident you cause your insurance premium will increase by three steps. A driver moves down the scale only one step at a time. Each step down will take one full year of safe driving. To encourage people high on the scale to improve their driving, their premium will go back to the base rate after three years without accidents.

Example: Mr. X is paying the base rate ($500) for his insurance. He causes an accident and moves three steps up the scale. His insurance will be about $650. If he has another accident his insurance will be about $875. After three years without accidents, Mr. X will be back at the base rate.

There is also a discount for safe drivers. In 1983 a driver with a base rate of $500 who has caused no accidents for a minimum of 4 years, will pay $325 for his or her insurance. If Mr. X, from the example above, continues to drive safely, he can move, one step at a time, down the discount steps. It pays to be a safe driver.

Vancouver Sun



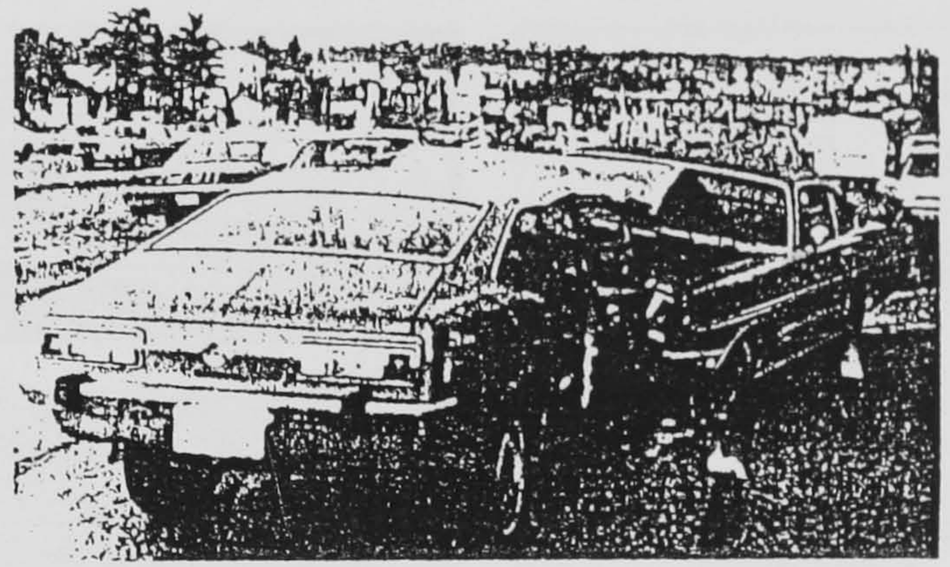
Causes of accidents

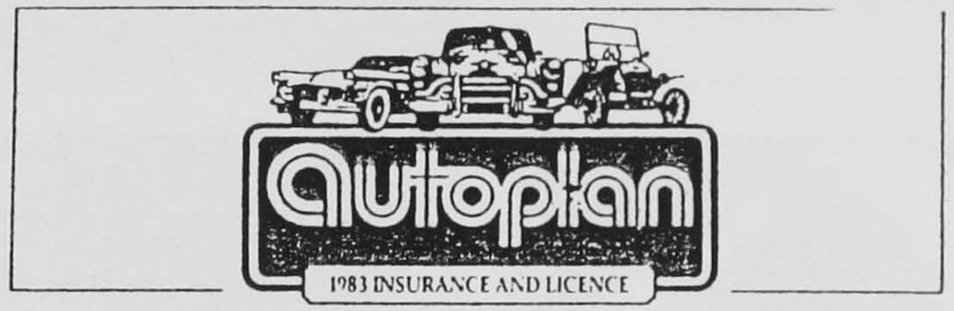
People cause most car crashes. About 90 per cent of crashes happen because a driver makes an error.

Sometimes the weather or road conditions cause accidents. For example, the roads may be slippery. A few crashes happen because the car isn't working properly. For example, it may have bad brakes or poor tires. You should check and repair your car regularly.

But most accidents happen because people make mistakes. Here are some of the reasons for many car crashes.

- The driver has been drinking alcohol.
- The driver forgets to look at the other cars, or he looks but he doesn't see them.
- The driver goes too fast.
- The driver is thinking about something so he doesn't pay attention.





ICBC means Insurance Corporation of British Columbia. It is a Crown Corporation (big, government company).

The main part of ICBC is car insurance. This insurance is called Autoplan. Everyone with a car in B.C. must have Autoplan insurance. This is the law.

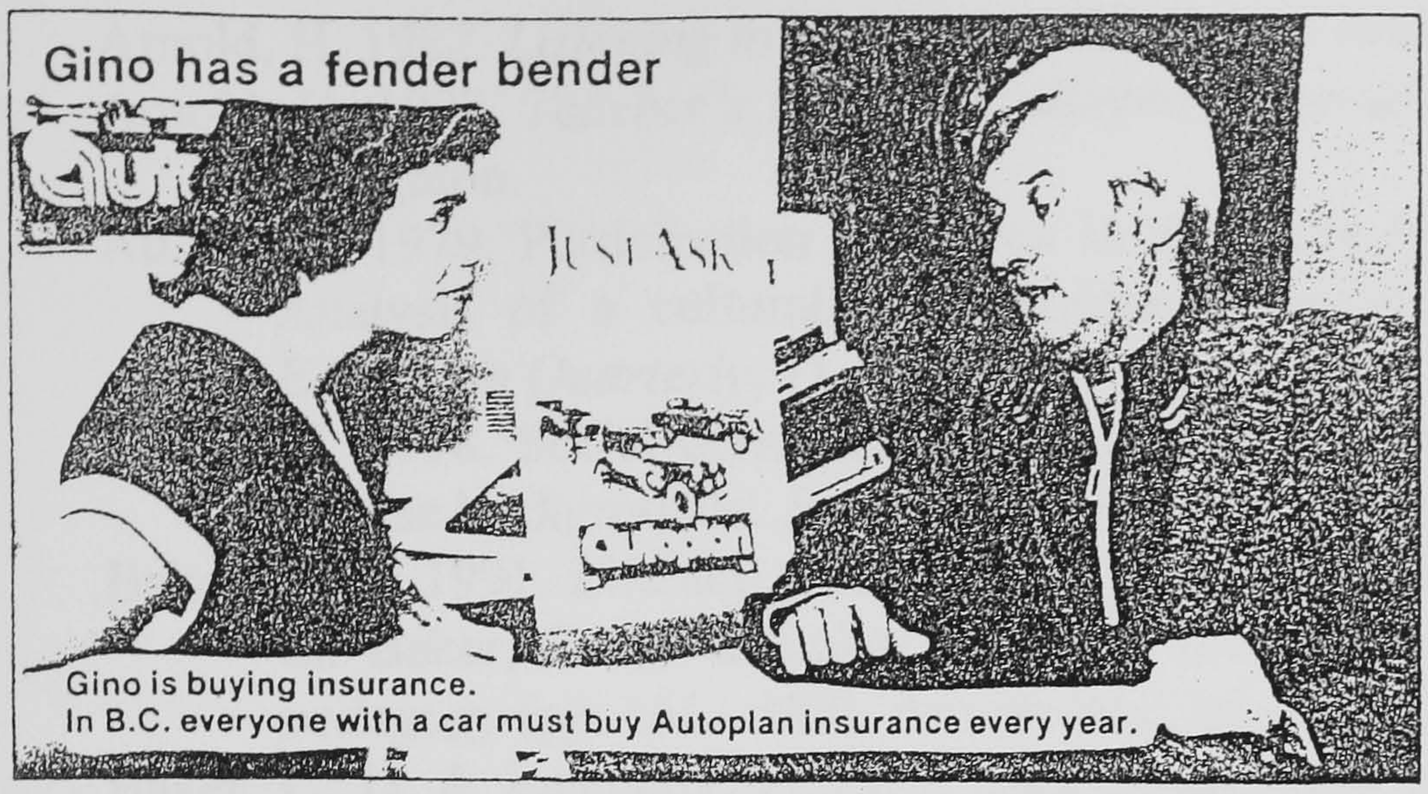
All cars must have $100,000 (compulsory) Third Party Liability insurance. That means you are protected if you cause injury or damage to others (third parties). Many people buy extra Third Party Liability insurance. This is a good idea. It doesn't cost much more, and it will provide up to $1,000,000 in case of a very bad crash.

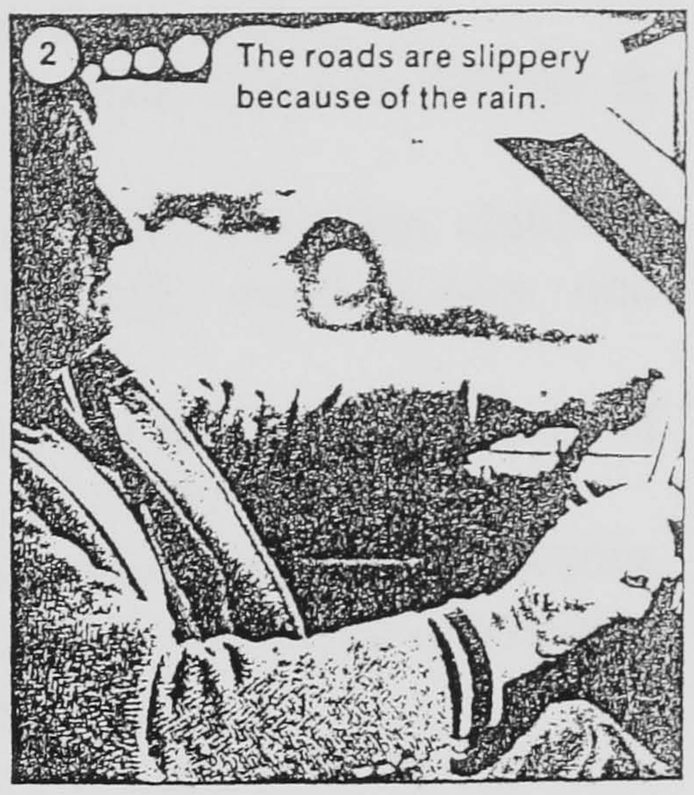
B.C. senior citizens get a discount on their Autoplan insurance. The discount is about 25 per cent of the premium for the compulsory Third Party Liability insurance.

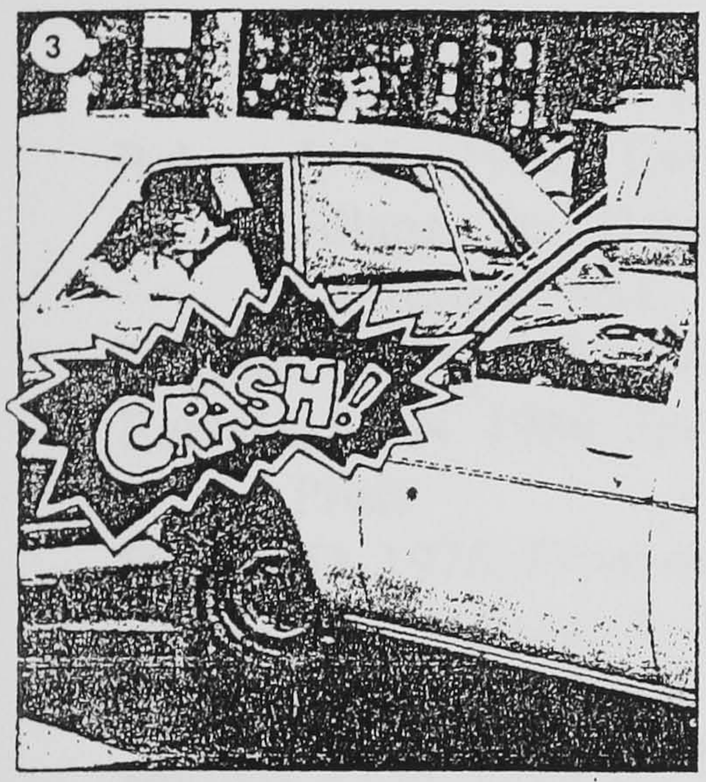
You can also get other (optional) insurance coverage in case you damage your own car. There are four kinds of "own damage" insurance. They are Collision, Comprehensive, Specified Perils, and All Perils. You must decide which is best for you. Ask your nearest Autoplan agent for advice.

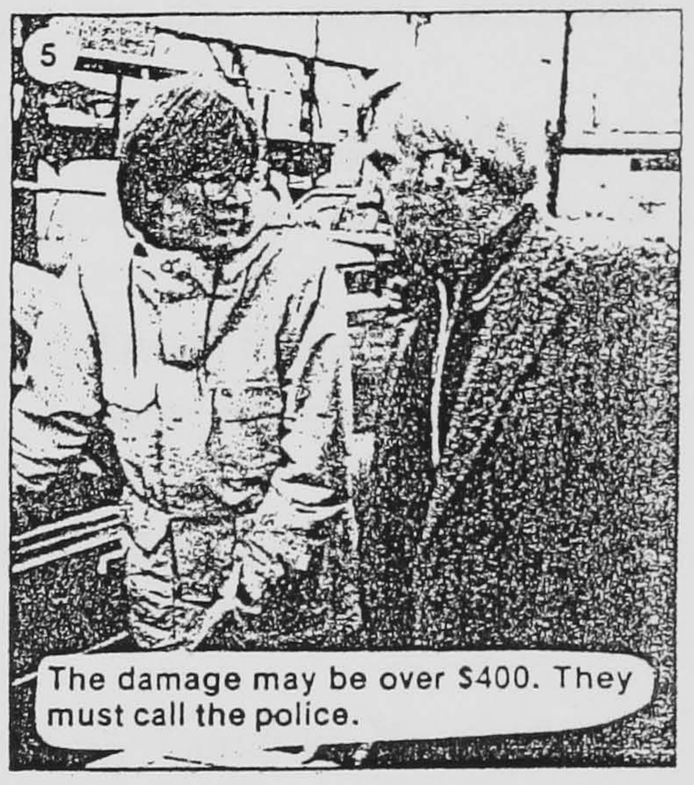
How much you pay for your insurance depends on what kind of insurance you want, and whether you are a safe driver. People who have many accidents pay a lot more for their insurance than safe drivers. People who use their cars only for pleasure pay less for insurance than people who use their cars for work. If you buy some "own damage" insurance, the price depends on how much deductible you want, and the kind of car you have. The deductible is the amount of money you pay to the bodyshop if you caused the crash that damaged your car. It is usually $100-$200.

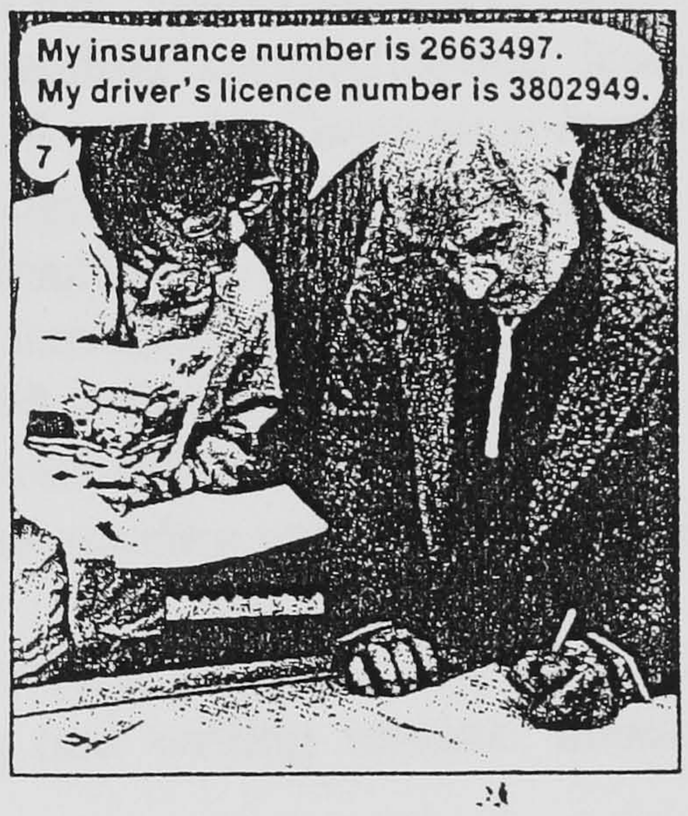
You have to renew your Autoplan insurance on the same date each year. You can do that at a Motor Licence Office or at any Autoplan agent.

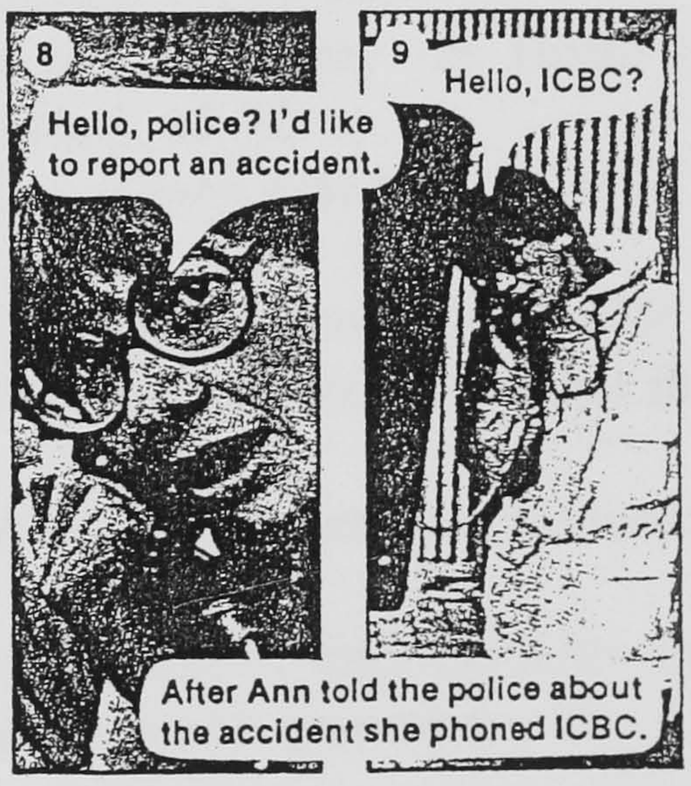


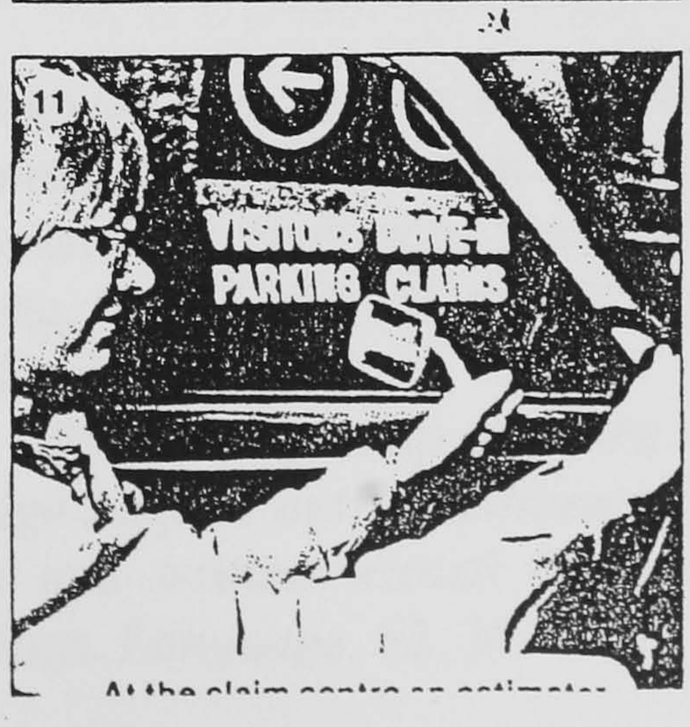












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The drivers must call the police because the damage is over $400. Each person must also report to ICBC. ICBC and the police decided that Gino caused the crash. Gino's insurance will go up. The police may charge him. Sometimes a driver who caused a crash has to go to court and sometimes even to jail. For example, a drunk driver may have to go to jail.

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